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IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

#156

1 of 4

Sr T Lawrence J Bull

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Second Marquess of Londonderry.

London Library Edition. 28

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

EDITED BY

HIS BROTHER,

CHARLES VANE, MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY,

G.C.B., ETC.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

Having adverted, at the conclusion of the Memoir with which this Volume opens, to some of the circumstances which have contributed to delay, till so late a period, the publication of Documents illustrating the public and private character of my Brother, I need not here recur to that subject. Though conscious that my abilities are not adequate to the task which I have undertaken, I feel it to be a duty to rescue the name of Castlereagh from the calumnies and abuse which have been so long and so industriously cast upon it by political adversaries and pardoned rebels.

This object cannot, in my opinion, be more effectually accomplished than in submitting to the public the select Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, from the commencement of his official career to the close of his laborious and useful life. The first division of this Collection, relating exclusively to the affairs of Ireland, will occupy four volumes, two of which are before the reader. The prominent points comprehended in these Volumes are—the Rebellion of the United Irishmen, and the abortive attempt at invasion by the French; the proceedings adopted for effecting

the important measure of the Union with Great Britain, and arrangements, commercial and financial, preparatory to it; the state of the Roman Catholics and of the Presbyterians; and the insane outbreak of the younger Emmett, surpassed in imbecility only by that which we have just witnessed. Till the consummation of the Union, Lord Castlereagh filled the arduous and responsible office of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant; and hence malevolence and party rancour perversely imputed to him personally, as the principal organ of the Executive Government, all the severities that took place in Ireland during the Rebellion.

I am aware that it may be objected, that inconvenience to the public interests is liable to accrue from divulging the Correspondence of Statesmen who have been employed in the service of the Crown: that this may be the case I freely admit, unless a sufficient time has elapsed after the events and negociations in which they were engaged: but, in the present instance, the half century that has intervened, and the exercise of a proper discretion, will, I trust, furnish a satisfactory plea for the course that I feel it incumbent on me to pursue.

In these Documents, for the most part confidential at the time, will be found incontrovertible evidence of what Lord Castlereagh was, of what he did, of what he thought: all is unreservedly exposed in traits not premeditated, not calculated for effect, or that could be deemed likely ever to emerge from the privacy to which they were destined by the writer. The necessity

of this privacy, which was then rendered imperative by the interests of the Government and the public service, Time, in the lapse of nearly fifty years, has surely removed.

If, at a crisis like the present, when Treason is again stalking abroad in unhappy Ireland, with the avowed purpose of dissolving that Union which it cost the Irish Government and my Brother long and most laborious exertions to accomplish—if, I say, at such a crisis, I engage in the cherished undertaking, it is in the confident belief that I am thereby rendering a beneficial service not only to the Empire at large, but especially to my unfortunate Country,—alternately the dupe of priests and political agitators, and sometimes of both together—by means of the useful suggestions and information which may be derived from this work by the governors, and the awful warnings which it holds out to the governed. So striking, indeed, is the coincidence between the state of the country at the period to which these Papers relate and at the present day, that numerous passages might be supposed to apply to scenes and occurrences which have been recently passing before our eyes. In addition to these motives, I feel assured that these Volumes will be hailed by History as no ordinary offering; and, on this point, I am gratified to have my opinion corroborated by that of a competent judge, my friend Alison, to whose inspection I submitted the manuscript.

"I cannot adequately express the gratification and interest which these Papers, one and all, have afforded me—I consider them as *invaluable* materials for History, of which I hope in

future largely to avail myself. Those regarding the Union and Government of Ireland during the Rebellion, and after it, are of the highest importance; especially from the vehement manner in which that measure has since been assailed, and the unceasing efforts made to get it repealed.

"You must allow me to add, that I think the Life admirably done; in such a way, indeed, as leaves no room for regret that even the great Novelist had not undertaken the task. I was very much struck with several letters it contained, particularly the beautifully expressed one from Sir R. Peel, and the feeling one from the Duke of Wellington, immediately after the melancholy catastrophe. But, more than all, I was impressed with the touching and highly interesting account of his life from your own pen, which none but a member of the family could have done so well, which elevates him so much above what those unacquainted with his private character were aware of, and which does equal credit to the head and heart of both Brothers, who, in their respective careers, have deserved so well of their country."

Lord Castlereagh was one of that constellation of British Statesmen which shed a lustre over the commencement of the present century. He was associated with Pitt, Cornwallis, Grenville, Dundas, Wellesley, Canning, and Wellington; of most of whom we have honourable and ample memorials in their collected Speeches or Despatches, or in Biographical Memoirs or public monuments. No record that Castlereagh has lived yet exists.

Life is precarious, especially when it has extended to my advancing years; and I am sensible that I should deserve to be taxed with ingratitude, were I to quit the world without leaving behind me some memento, however unworthy, of one who ever ap-

proved himself towards me as the most affectionate of Brothers; whose good opinion and protection enabled me to serve my Sovereign and my Country; and whose memory, while the breath of life is vouchsafed to me, I shall never cease to revere.

In conclusion, I must observe that I lay no claim to literary abilities—I am neither an Alison nor a Disraeli. It is true, however, that, as a soldier, I have ventured to write from the Peninsula, from the fight of nations at Leipzig, from the Campaigns in Germany, and from the Congresses of Europe; but, for any literary deficiencies which the critical eye may discover in that portion of these Volumes proceeding from the pen of the Editor, I trust that I shall meet with indulgence, and that I shall be forgiven for having stepped out of my professional character, on account of the irresistible motives by which I have been actuated.

ERRATA.

Notwithstanding all the care which has been exercised, some few of the Letters in this Collection are out of the strict chronological order, which it was proposed to observe; but they are not so far misplaced as to break, in the slightest degree, the continuity of the series.

Vol. i., p. 372. The letter from Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh should be dated September 1798, not 1791.

Vol. i., p. 419. The letter from Mr. Pelham to Lord Castlereagh should be dated November 2, not November 28.

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

VOL. I.

MEMOIR

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

The ancestor of our family was a native of Scotland. He was one of the Stewarts of Wigtonshire, several of whom held the rank of High Stewards of Scotland; one of them ascended the Scottish throne in 1371. Sir Alexander Stewart was raised to the Peerage by James I., with the titles of Baron of Garlies and Earl of Galloway. John Stewart, descended from Sir Thomas Stewart, of Minto (ancestor of the Lord Blantyre), settled in Ireland in the reign of James I., who granted to his kinsman the Duke of Lenox and to his relations that large tract of land in the County of Donegal lying between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, which had been forfeited during his reign and that of Queen Elizabeth.

This the King divided into eight manors, two of which he granted to the Duke; and a third, by the name of the manor of Stewart's Court, otherwise, Ballylawn, together with the territory and precincts

of Ballyreach, to John Stewart, Esq., a relative of the Duke's, and to his heirs for ever; which manor, together with the whole of the land annexed, descended, in regular lineal succession, to Robert first Marquess of Londonderry. On this manor the said John Stewart erected the Castle of Ballylawn, and settled it with Protestant inhabitants (from Scotland?), whereby he became entitled to hold a Court-Baron and to other important privileges.

The great grandson of this John Stewart and great grandfather of the first Marquess (who died in 1821) was Colonel William Stewart, of Ballylawn Castle, who raised a troop of horse, at his own expense, during the siege of the City of Londonderry by King James II., and was of essential service to the Protestants, by protecting those who were well affected to King William III., and checking the depredations of James's army, whose supplies he completely cut off, on one side, and considerably cramped the operations of the siege. In the Parliament afterwards held in Dublin by King James, he was attainted by name, and his estates were declared forfeited; but this decree was not carried into effect, and the estates descended unimpaired to Colonel Stewart's heir.

This Colonel William Stewart married the daughter of William Stewart, of Fort Stewart, in the County of Donegal, and died, leaving issue—1st. Thomas, his heir; 2nd. Alexander; 3rd. Martha, who married John Kennedy, Esq., of Cultra, in the County of Down. Thomas, the elder of the two sons, suc-

ceeded to Ballylawn Castle, and served as a captain in the regiment of his relation, Lord Mountjoy. He married Mary, the second daughter of Barnard Ward, Esq., ancestor of the Viscount Bangor; and, dying without issue in 1740, was succeeded by his brother Alexander, born in 1700, who represented the City of Londonderry in Parliament, and purchased the estate of Mount Stewart, in the County of Down (formerly the Mount Alexander estate), from the Colville family. In June, 1737, he married his cousin Mary, only daughter of Alderman John Cowan, Esq., of Londonderry, sister and heir of Sir Robert Cowan, Knight, Governor of Bombay, who died April 2, 1781; and was succeeded by his eldest son Robert.

Robert Stewart was born September 27, 1739; represented the County of Down in two Parliaments; was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed a trustee of the Linen Board during the administration of the Marquess of Lansdowne, and was made Governor and Custos Rotulorum of the Counties of Down and Londonderry in 1801 and 1803. He was advanced to the dignity of Baron of Londonderry, November 18, 1789; of Viscount Castlereagh, October 6, 1795; of Earl of Londonderry, August 9, 1796; and of Marquess of Londonderry, January 22, 1816. He married, first, Lady Sarah Frances Seymour Conway, second daughter of Francis, first Earl of Hertford, who died July 17, 1776, and by whom he had issue two children, viz., Alexander Francis, who was born in 1767, and died in 1769; and Robert, the late Marquess of Londonderry, whose biography is the subject of this record.

By his second wife, sister of Lord Camden, he had issue the third Marquess, and several other children.

Robert, only surviving child of Lord Londonderry by his first marriage, was born on the 18th of June, 1769—a year further memorable by the birth of two of his most conspicuous contemporaries—Napoleon Buonaparte and the Duke of Wellington. His father having then no higher rank in the Peerage than that of Baron, his son was known in early life as the Honourable Robert Stewart. He received his early education at Armagh; and, at seventeen, (1786) was entered at St. John's College, Cambridge. Even in his youth, he was distinguished by a remarkable intrepidity of character, which was particularly displayed on one occasion, when he ventured, and almost lost his life, to rescue a schoolfellow from a watery grave. The circumstance occurred near Mount Stewart, on the Lough of Strangford. The two schoolboys were fond of sailing; and the record of the efforts of young Stewart to save his companion may still be seen in the Temple of the Winds, at the family-seat, written upon a picture of the Lough of Strangford: it is as follows:—

This view of Strangford Lough is for ever memorable for the providential escape, on August 5, 1786, of Robert Stewart, aged seventeen years, and of Henry Sturrock, a boy of twelve:

Who, sailing on the Lake, and being overset in a thunderstorm nearly three miles from the shore, floated on the water more than an hour, till they were taken up in a boat by the activity and collected conduct of the Rev. Mr. Cleland, who happened to accompany the Rev. Mr. Sturrock to the Temple, and, missing their vessel, flew to the beach, put off to their assistance, and saved them as they were in the instant of perishing.

Robert Stewart had lost the power of his limbs, from the coldness of the water, and almost his sight.

Henry Sturrock was totally senseless: the former an indifferent swimmer—the latter never swam before in his life—and, when he attempted it after his recovery, was found incapable of supporting himself a moment on the surface.

Let not these particulars of a deliverance almost miraculous pass without just emotions of gratitude to the Almighty Preserver, and let it teach a due reliance on his Providence in the greatest of dangers.

Respecting his conduct while at the University, the following is the substance of some remarks received, in 1840, from the Rev. Dr. Bushby, of Saint John's College:—

It was towards the end of 1786 that Mr. Stewart went to reside there, under the tuition of Mr. Pearce, afterwards Dean of Ely. That he applied himself with great diligence and success to the appointed studies of that place appears from his position in the classes after every examination. In that College, an examination of the students took place every half year, in the elements of Mathematics, in certain portions of Classical Authors, and in Logic, and Moral Philosophy. Mr. Stewart's name was among the first on every occasion; and, at the third examination, in December, 1787, being the last which he passed, he was first in the first class.

It is gratifying [adds Dr. Bushby] to observe these early tokens of his future distinction, especially as they supply a sufficient answer to any disparaging remarks which may have been made with regard to his early education and want of proficiency in the studies proper for his rank and station.

I have not been able to ascertain the cause why he left College so soon; whether it was that he was in a hurry to travel abroad, or that some opportunity was offered in Ireland for his entering Parliament. I have inquired of a good many persons who remember him here, and they all agree in the same account of him, testifying as to his gentlemanly appearance

and manners, his diligence in study, and the propriety of his conduct, in all respects. I need give only two short extracts from letters which members of our College have written to me.

"With respect to the late Lord Londonderry, my recollection serves me to bear testimony to his particularly studious habits and attention to the subjects of College examination, at that day hardly required in men of his rank. His most intimate and almost inseparable companion was the present Marquess of Bristol, who was also greatly distinguished as a reading man in that year."

Another writer says:—

"I was in the same year with the late Lord Londonderry, and remember that he always distinguished himself at the College examinations. I also well remember his mild and gentlemanly manners."

After leaving College, and making the grand tour, which was at that time looked upon as an indispensable part of the education of a gentleman, he began to evince an ardent desire to engage in political affairs. His father determined to afford him every facility in his power to attain the object of his wishes; and Mr. Stewart was induced to offer himself as a candidate to represent the County of Down, in which his father's estates were principally situated, and where his influence could be exerted with the greatest probability of success. The election was fiercely contested. Lord Hillsborough (afterwards Marquess of Downshire) was anxious to return, mainly on his own interest and that of his friends, two members for that great northern county. The independent landed proprietors resisted this attempt, and united their influence in support of Stewart and Ward, by which, after an arduous struggle of two

months' duration, and an expense to Lord Londonderry of £60,000,[1] Mr. Stewart was returned with Lord Downshire's nominee; but, as it was only during his canvass that he attained the legal age to sit in Parliament, his eligibility was challenged.

This celebrated contest caused great excitement at the time in Ireland, and brought Mr. Stewart first into public notice in his own country. Shortly afterwards, he entered the militia of the County of Londonderry, in which he received, on the 26th of April, 1793, the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, from his uncle, the Right Honourable Thomas Conolly, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of that regiment.

In the following year, he married Lady Emily Anne Hobart, youngest daughter and co-heiress of John second Earl of Buckinghamshire, a lady whose congenial disposition, amiability, and talents, made her his constant partner in every act of kindness or bountiful charity to which his generous nature incessantly prompted him.

That he was popular, may be inferred from the circumstance of his having given a written pledge on the hustings that he would support the cause of Parliamentary Reform; but the extent to which he de-

[1] The expense of this contested election occurred at a moment when Mr. Stewart's father was about to build a large family mansion at Mount Stewart. The money intended for this latter object was, however, spent upon the son's election; and the patriotic father, who had made the additional sacrifice of selling a fine collection of old family portraits, in order to raise the sum required to ensure his son's success, lived the remainder of his valuable life in an old barn, with a few rooms added; but he saw the independence of the County of Down rescued from the monopoly of one family, who had hitherto claimed both its seats.

sired to carry reform I am not able to record. It is probable, however, that his wishes on this subject were not so extravagant as those of some other politicians of his time.

When taunted, at a later period, by the Whigs, for what they were pleased to term his apostacy from the cause of reform, he was accustomed to justify himself in the following manner: — It was true, he would say, that he was, in 1790, an advocate for a reform of the Irish House of Commons; and some persons might be surprised when he said that, notwithstanding the events of the last twenty-five years, which had been by no means calculated to encourage the general principle of Parliamentary Reform, under the circumstances in which the Irish House of Commons *then* stood, he should again support Parliamentary Reform. He supported it then on the practical ground that a dissolution of Parliament did not produce the same effect in Ireland that it did in England; but when, in 1793, the constituencies were enlarged by the admission of the Catholics to the right of voting, he had stated that thenceforward he should not vote for any Parliamentary reform.

It has been asserted, by his political opponents, that he changed his opinions respecting Reform as soon as he was called into office; whereas, it is notorious that this alteration in his sentiments took place in 1793; and that he did not take office until 1797, four years afterwards. In justification of the propriety of such conduct, we have even the opinion of his opponent, Mr. Ponsonby, who declared

that he would support the cause of Parliamentary Reform in Ireland, but that on no account would he consent to a reform in the English House of Commons.

Mr. Stewart took an early opportunity of showing to the House of which he was a member that it was by no means his intention to remain inactive. The first occasion which presented itself for a display of his political knowledge and rhetorical powers was a debate on the question, whether Ireland had a right to trade with India, notwithstanding the monopoly of the British East India Company. On this occasion, he displayed a soundness of understanding and powers of reasoning that commanded for him a degree of respectful attention, with which young and uninitiated politicians are rarely honoured. His *débût* was noticed by Lord Charlemont in terms of very decided approbation.

For a few sessions, Mr. Stewart voted generally with the Opposition. However, the turbulent development of the state of Ireland rendered it necessary for him to come to some decided conclusions. Accordingly, when the system of strong measures was adopted by the Irish Administration, in order to silence rebellion by terror, or extinguish it by severity, we find Lord Castlereagh among the warmest of its supporters.

The Marquess of Buckingham, who, in consequence of a breach with the Irish Parliament, on the Regency question, suddenly quitted his post and the country, and exposed himself to the censure of both Houses, was succeeded by the Earl of Westmorland,

whose Viceroyalty was an era of fierce political conflict, as well with the Opposition as with the advocates of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation out of doors.

The Dissenters of the North and the Catholics of the other three provinces suddenly united their interests with those of the Presbyterians; and, although very considerable concessions were made to the Catholics, by relaxations of the penal laws, certain grants of political privileges, and other ameliorating measures, with a view to detach them from the northern reformers, the favours which they had received were considered by them as due, in a great measure, to the joint and zealous advocacy of the Dissenters in their behalf. They refused, therefore, to detach themselves from the cause of their northern allies, and pledged themselves also to the furtherance of Parliamentary Reform.

In this state of affairs, it was deemed advisable by the British Cabinet to adopt some measures of conciliation, in order to avert the dangers which threatened the general security and peace. Lord Westmorland was recalled, and Earl Fitzwilliam was sent avowedly with the olive branch, as the harbinger of peace, to heal the wounds of faction, and to concede to the people such measures of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform as were consistent with the due security of the State. On his arrival, tranquillity was, to a certain extent, restored, with all but the Orange party, who were not disposed to regard him with much cordiality or respect.

Mr. Grattan announced the purposes of Lord Fitzwilliam's administration. The call of that gentleman and his political adherents to the councils of the new Viceroy was hailed as a certain earnest of the expected boons; and, on the motion of Mr. Grattan, three millions were voted to the aid of Great Britain in support of the war. But scarcely had the Bill for this grant passed through both Houses of the Irish Parliament, when the promises of Lord Fitzwilliam were declared to have been made without the authority of the Government. It was insisted that his Excellency had quite mistaken his instructions, and had pledged that which was utterly incompatible with the existence of Protestant Government in Church and State, and the permanent connection of Great Britain and Ireland. The consequences of this misunderstanding might easily be anticipated. After this alleged violation of the arrangement, which he represented himself as having been commissioned to hold out, Earl Fitzwilliam deemed his continuance in the Viceroyalty impossible, and desired his recal. He left the country; and thus gave place to Earl Camden, with Mr. Pelham (afterwards Lord Chichester) as his chief secretary.

On the first night of the official appearance of the latter, Mr. Grattan determined to bring forward the Catholic question, although he was almost certain that it could not succeed. Mr. Pelham immediately rose in reply, and stated, with great heat and emphasis, that "concessions to the Catholics seemed only to increase their demands; that what they now

sought was incompatible with the existence of a Protestant Constitution; that concession must stop somewhere; it had already reached the utmost limit—it could not be allowed to proceed—and here he would plant his foot, and never consent to recede an inch farther."

The debate was continued through the night, and until eight in the morning, with most unusual warmth and eloquence, and the question was lost. From that moment, the popular feeling, with its desperate decision, and a system of horrors, commenced; and Mr. Pelham returned, in disgust, to England.

The promotion of his father in the Peerage, conferred on Mr. Stewart, in 1797, the title of Viscount Castlereagh; and, in the same year, Lord Camden, (whose sister was the second wife of Lord Londonderry,) appointed him Keeper of the Privy Seal in Ireland. On the sudden departure of Mr. Pelham, Lord Castlereagh was induced, by the Lord-Lieutenant, to undertake the duty of Chief Secretary to his Excellency, as the *locum tenens* of Mr. Pelham; and, while performing the functions of that arduous office, the rebellion raised by the United Irishmen, encouraged by the hope of assistance from France, called for the exercise of all his energy, firmness, and perseverance. To crush this unnatural spirit, which threatened nothing less than the dismemberment of the Empire, Government deemed it necessary to resort to measures of great vigilance and precaution; and on Lord Castlereagh, as the organ of the Government, fell with undue weight the unpopularity of all

such measures. To this circumstance may be referred many of the slanders with which political malignity has so frequently sought to stigmatize his name, for his presumed conduct at this period.

Mr. Pelham, who still continued to hold the office of Secretary, being at length induced by illness to resign it, Lord Castlereagh was appointed his successor in April, 1799; and, the British Cabinet conceiving that a military Lord-Lieutenant would be more advantageous for the state of Ireland, Lord Camden desired to be relieved from his very arduous duties.

Lord Camden was succeeded by the Marquess Cornwallis, who, on the strong recommendation of the British Cabinet, continued Lord Castlereagh in his post of Chief Secretary. This able and efficient Viceroy, after delivering the country from the horrors of French invasion, soothed the spirit of party, and published an amnesty to all the rebels in arms (murderers excepted), who should surrender their weapons and swear allegiance to his Majesty. The rebellion soon terminated, and tranquillity was once more restored.

Lord Castlereagh's conduct in effecting the Union between this country and Ireland was the next topic of popular outcry against him. Of the policy of this measure, there appears to have been a variety of opinions. It is curious, however, to remark, that some of the most influential parties who so obstinately disputed with Government the ground which they at last yielded, and who solemnly denounced, as an enemy to his country, the author of this measure, did not afterwards refuse to give a tacit concurrence

with the Irish policy which Lord Castlereagh's official duty imposed upon him.

The Letters, Despatches, and numerous Papers from his pen, on almost all the points embraced in that great measure introduced into the portion of this collection specially devoted to the subject, show with what untiring assiduity all the efforts of his mind were engaged in not only developing the grand principles, but in elaborating the details, so diverse in nature and importance, of a great political arrangement, undertaken with the beneficent design of extending to Ireland all the advantages of order, commercial prosperity, and security which the British portion of the Empire enjoyed, by a legislative incorporation. The measure, when first submitted to the Parliament of Ireland, was roughly repulsed; and, if it met with a better reception when laid a second time before that legislature, it is not going too far to affirm that to the tact, management, assiduity, and exertions of Lord Castlereagh, its final success is mainly to be attributed.

So highly were the services rendered by him in the conduct of that delicate and arduous business appreciated by Mr. Pitt and the British Cabinet generally, that, as his Correspondence with its most influential members abundantly proves, they were desirous, with a prophetic foreboding of his future usefulness, to secure for him a permanent position in the House of Commons of the United Parliament. Hence their advice, that the promotion in the Peerage promised to his father, in acknowledgment of the eminent services of the son, should not be claimed till a future period.

The great measure of the Union being completed, Lord Cornwallis resigned the Viceroyalty; and Lord Castlereagh, being thus released from his official duties in Ireland, transferred his residence to London; but the retirement of Mr. Pitt, with whose sentiments respecting the Catholics he entirely coincided, delayed his appointment to office till July, 1802, when he was placed at the head of the Board of Control, under Mr. Addington's administration.

When Mr. Pitt resumed the direction of affairs, Lord Castlereagh continued to preside over the Board of Control, till, in 1805, he was appointed Secretary of State for the War and Colonial Department. Party prejudices had already begun to operate against him so strongly, that, on this occasion, he failed, after an expensive contest, to obtain his re-election for the County of Down.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, Lord Castlereagh resigned, with the rest of his colleagues; but the eminent public situations which he afterwards held naturally led him to take a prominent part in the discussions of the United Parliament, in which he lost nothing of the high character for talents which he had acquired, while at the head of the administration in the Sister Country. Although there were at times inequalities in his style of speaking, on some occasions, when it fell to his lot to bring forward questions of great national importance, he rose with the magnitude of every subject that he took in hand, and gave an ample display of eloquence, of ingenious argument, and of political information. Amidst the long and violent opposition

which he had to encounter in Parliament, he had a merit, which few other Statesmen possessed—that of being uniformly consistent in his politics. He not only appeared to entertain a magnanimous contempt for popularity, but, while he met the taunts of his opponents with a mingled feeling of placid indifference and proud defiance, he never abated one particle of the rigorous determination with which he set about the adoption of any public measure which he conceived necessary for giving increased strength to the Government. With these bold and decisive qualities, no man who presided on the Ministerial bench ever treated his opponents with more good temper and gentlemanly complacency. In his intercourse with persons of all parties and his inferiors, he was easy of access and dignified; so that those who disliked him as a politician could not avoid entertaining a high degree of partiality for him as a man, for the suavity of his manners and his amiable disposition.

On the resignation of the Grey and Grenville administration in 1807, and the formation of that of Mr. Percival, Lord Castlereagh was replaced in his former situation of Minister of the War Department, in which he continued till the Walcheren expedition and his duel with Mr. Canning, which singular event removed him once more from office.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the latter transaction, which took place in 1809, and which excited the strongest interest at the time.

About the middle of that year, Lord Castlereagh charged Mr. Canning with want of faith and honour

in his conduct towards him; alleging that Mr. Canning obtained a promise, on his personal solicitation, that Lord Castlereagh should be removed from office; and that, with this promise in his pocket, he not only concealed the whole affair from Lord Castlereagh, but permitted him to continue in this state of delusion, to conduct the entire management of the campaign, and to engage in a new expedition to Walcheren of the most important, extensive, and complicated nature, under the full persuasion that he enjoyed Mr. Canning's liberal and *bonâ fide* support, and that of all his colleagues.

Thus placed in a most painful position by the unprecedented conduct of a member of the same cabinet, Lord Castlereagh considered that he had but one course to pursue—to vindicate both his official and private character; and he sent immediately for his friend, the late Marquess of Hertford. Communications for a hostile meeting took place, preceded by a correspondence, which was then made public. Mr. Canning answered the demand for a meeting without delay. The conduct of Lord Castlereagh was unquestionably that of a man of high honour; while he had most distressing circumstances to contend with, not only in respect to the sentiments of his sovereign, for his relation and friend, Lord Camden, who formed one of the cabinet, was also aware of Mr. Canning's proceedings: this was peculiarly felt by Lord Castlereagh. On the conduct of his adversary it would not become the writer of these pages to make any comments.

Lord Castlereagh afterwards addressed the King on the subject of the transactions which led to this unfortunate quarrel. The reply of his Majesty was as follows:—

Windsor Castle, October 3, 1809.

The King has received Lord Castlereagh's letter of the 1st instant; and, before his Majesty enters into transactions of which he must ever lament the occurrence and the consequences, he thinks it necessary to assure Lord Castlereagh that he readily admits that, situated as he is, he could not with propriety have made his representation to the King in any other than the direct mode, which he has adopted.

The King does not recollect any communication to him of Mr. Canning's letter of the 24th March last, to which Lord Castlereagh refers; *nor has want of zeal or of efficiency, on the part of Lord Castlereagh, in the execution of the duties of his department,* ever been urged to his Majesty, as a ground for the arrangement which was suggested. The Duke of Portland stated verbally to the King, in May last, that difficulties had arisen from Mr. Canning's representation, that the duties of the Foreign and the Colonial Departments clashed, and that, unless some arrangement could be made for the removal of Lord Castlereagh, he had reason to believe that Mr. Canning would resign his situation in the Government. This was the reason assigned to his Majesty; and, in June, Lord Wellesley's name was first submitted to him, as the eventual successor to Lord Castlereagh, the continuance of whose services, as a member of the Government, it was hoped, would be secured by some further arrangement. It was not intended that the communication to Lord Castlereagh of what was in agitation should have been subject to the delay which progressively took place, from circumstances into which the King does not think it necessary to enter.

The King has no hesitation in assuring Lord Castlereagh that he has at all times been satisfied *with the zeal and assiduity* with which he has discharged the duties of the *various situa-*

tions which he has filled, and with the exertions which, under every difficulty, he has made for the support of his Majesty's and the country's interest.

His Majesty must ever approve the principle which shall secure the support and protection of Government to officers exposing their reputation as well as their lives in his service, *when their characters and conduct are attacked and aspersed upon loose and insufficient grounds; without adverting to embarrassments and local difficulties, of which those on the spot can alone form an adequate judgment.*

His Majesty has never been induced to admit that Lord Castlereagh was wanting in zeal or exertion in providing for the reinforcement of his army in Portugal. On the contrary, Lord Castlereagh must remember that the King was not disposed to question the correctness of the representations made by the late Sir John Moore, which subsequent experience has too fully confirmed; and, although he was induced to yield to the advice of his confidential servants, he never could look with satisfaction to the prospect of another British army being committed in Spain, under the possible recurrence of the same difficulties.

It was also this impression which prompted the King to acquiesce in the appointment of so young a Lieutenant-General as Lord Wellington, to the command of the troops in Portugal, as he hoped that this consideration would operate with others, against any considerable augmentation of that army, although that augmentation has been since gradually produced by events not then foreseen.

In making this observation, the King is far from meaning to reflect upon Lord Wellington, of whose zealous services and abilities he has the most favourable opinion, and whose subsequent conduct has proved him deserving of the confidence reposed in him; but, as Lord Castlereagh has laid so much stress upon this point, his Majesty has considered it due to himself and to Lord Castlereagh to show clearly that he had never entertained an idea that there had been any neglect on his part in providing for that service.

The above letter is a convincing evidence of the great difficulties which Lord Castlereagh encountered in recommending the appointment of so young a general officer as Sir Arthur Wellesley was at that time, over the heads of so many senior generals, to the command of the army in Spain and Portugal. And yet, what might the state of things now be, but for Lord Castlereagh's foresight, judgment, and decision, against all the opposition which he met with in this arrangement!

Immediately before the meeting between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, the former resigned his office, and his antagonist (who was wounded) also retired from the department of foreign affairs, which, before the end of the same year, was transferred to his Lordship, who, on the assassination of Mr. Percival, obtained that influence in his Majesty's councils, and occupied that office, which he continued to hold till his death: being Foreign Minister at a time when our exertions, military and diplomatic, were most extensive and most strikingly successful; and our negociator, when Europe, raised by our call, and led by our example, was disposed to allow a preponderant influence to British counsels.

In no part of Lord Castlereagh's ministerial career were his influence and efforts exerted with greater advantage, to the interests and the glory of his country, than when the Spanish people rose, in defence of their national independence, against the general oppressor of Europe. To his counsels, I boldly assert, it was

chiefly owing that the British Cabinet decided to afford hearty and effective assistance in that arduous struggle, in spite of the violent outcries of the Parliamentary Opposition against our interference, and their prophetic denunciations that this interference could only involve the country in disasters and disgrace. It was Lord Castlereagh, too, who had the firm mind to uphold the commander whom he had selected throughout all his operations and plans in the Peninsula, and warmly to second him in the boldest and most decisive of his military arrangements.

How much the steady perseverance maintained in those plans must have contributed to embarrass the military operations of Napoleon in other quarters—against Austria, in 1809; against Russia, in 1812; against the Allies, in 1813—to disappoint the dreams of his boundless ambition, and to falsify, by its glorious success, the forebodings of those *soi-disant* liberals who had taken that destroyer of all liberty under their especial protection, is too obvious to every attentive observer of the passing events of that period to need further comment.

In December, 1813, in consequence of the revolution which took place in Holland, Lord Castlereagh set out for that country, in his way to join the Sovereigns allied against France, as Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, with full powers to treat for a general peace; and he accordingly attended the conferences on this subject, held at Chatillon, which ended in March, 1814.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau, which was afterwards

concluded, induced the determination of sending Lord Castlereagh to Paris. He immediately called upon the Emperor of Russia, who, I believe, strongly urged and invited him to sign it; but he excused himself by saying, that he was not authorized by the instructions of his Government, neither did his own private opinion incline him to do so.

This Treaty appeared to him impolitic and dangerous, inasmuch as it left Buonaparte the title of Emperor, which England had never recognised; and gave him, for a retreat, a sovereignty much too near France, and, lastly, much too large an allowance, which would enable him again to intrigue and disturb the peace of Europe. However, as soon as Buonaparte was sent off for Elba, Lord Castlereagh, as principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, ultimately decided on signing the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of March, 1814, which gave a transient peace to Europe.

As the representative of Great Britain, at the ensuing Congress of Vienna, in addition to the furtherance of other great objects, Lord Castlereagh exerted himself to the utmost to obtain the abolition of the Slave Trade; and even proposed to prohibit the importation of colonial produce, from all parts, where that trade was continued. This proposition, however, produced vehement remonstrances, especially from Spain: and all that he could obtain was a gradual abolition.

On the 13th of February, 1815, he left Vienna, after long conferences with the foreign plenipotentiaries, in which the principal points of negotiation

were settled. Before his departure, Lord Castlereagh delivered to the Allied Sovereigns the medals which the Prince Regent had caused to be struck in commemoration of that Congress. He proceeded direct to Paris, in order to have interviews with Louis XVIII. I should mention that he had, in the preceding year, been honoured with the order of the Garter, as a testimonial from his Sovereign of his acknowledged services. From Paris, proceeding to England, he landed at Dover the 3rd of March, amidst the acclamations of the people.

On this occasion, one of the London journals pronounced this emphatic eulogy:

> Never perhaps was man charged with a more delicate and more important mission, or possessed more advantages for executing it. With consummate ability, he combines all the graces of the most exquisite politeness. Moderate, but firm, he conceives laudable projects only, and executes them by honourable means. He is a statesman without guile, a courtier without falsehood; such a man is a glory to his country; and, if England is proud of a Nelson, of a Wellington, so ought she to be of having produced a Castlereagh.

On Lord Castlereagh's return to England, he laid, on the 16th of June, a copy of that Treaty, and the documents relating to those transactions, so glorious for his country, on the table of the House of Commons. When he made his first appearance in the House, on his return from the most important mission with which a British negociator was ever entrusted, all the members present, according to the report of eye-witnesses, rose as by unanimous con-

cert, and received him with cheers so enthusiastic, as to be unparalleled in the proceedings of even that assembly. The unequivocal tokens of approbation bestowed on his Lordship, on his return to his official and legislative duties at home, seemed, however, only to sharpen the acrimony of the Opposition in arraigning his conduct and that of the Allied Sovereigns. In these attacks, Mr. Whitbread particularly signalized himself; and by one of them, on the 20th of March, he drew from Lord Castlereagh an emphatic rebuke for his unjust comdemnation, on imperfect or false information, of the proceedings of the British government and its allies, a triumphant vindication of both, and a detailed statement of the motives of such of the great measures as had been settled by the Congress. From this speech, corrected by himself, and which has never been printed, I shall venture to make a few extracts.

I am confident [said his Lordship] that the House will join with me in the sentiment that the question this night is not whether the particular interests of this country have been upheld and preserved, and in what degree they have been so upheld and preserved, by that administration to which I have the honour of belonging at this perilous moment—for perilous indeed must it be, if one alternative of the catastrophe alluded to by the honourable gentleman as now pending in France should by possibility be realized, though all circumstances with which we are acquainted lead to a different and more fortunate conclusion—but the question is no less than whether the councils of those sovereigns upon whom our prospect of safety and tranquillity depends have conducted themselves with integrity and wisdom during the course of the late important discussions.

I trust the House will feel that I am bound, under its indulgence, to attempt to refute the many unfounded assertions and unfair insinuations that have been thrown out by the honourable member. Of the mode in which he has brought forward this question I mean not to complain. I am sure that he is too manly to disguise in my presence any sentiment that he has been induced to utter in my absence; for, if there be any point of union between us, separated as we are and always have been in political sentiment, it is, perhaps, that as he has had no hesitation in making charges against me in the course of my public life, so I have had as little hesitation in repelling those charges whenever they have been brought forward. But, though I may have always felt some sympathy with the honourable gentleman in the mode in which he made his attacks, because it enabled me as openly and undisguisedly to vindicate myself, yet, under the circumstances in which the nation is now placed, I must protest against that species of attack: I protest against it, for the sake of the public service; for the sake of the character of the councils of the sovereign; for the sake of not depriving the executive government of the means of acting, of which it is most important they should not be deprived, in conducting negociations abroad: and I feel that, on my return to Parliament, I should abandon my duty if I did not protest against this novel and most injurious system—novel, I will venture to assert, in the constitutional history of the country, and most injurious to the execution of the public service. I deny that it is competent for any member of Parliament, in the absence of all regular and authentic information, from a morbid jealousy and unfounded suspicion, to presume the disgrace and dishonour of his country, arising from the supposed profligacy of the government. It is rather too much, I think, to assume blame against the ministers of his own sovereign; to put them upon their defence; to demand, under such circumstances and at such a moment, a justification against accusations grounded solely upon misrepresentations and upon the garbled statements that his industry is able to collect, or upon such illicit information as he may receive from

the agents of foreign powers, pending negociations abroad, which those agents do not venture to avow by public and authentic acts in the face of Europe.

I contend, and I am sure the House will feel with me, that no government is competent to meet in negociation those of the other sovereigns of Europe, if it is so humbly situated in its own country as not to be allowed to conduct an affair to a close before it is called upon to justify itself, or if, on the production of every single document of which any member is able to obtain possession, he is to be allowed to call upon the ministers of the sovereign to avow or to disavow its authenticity. If, upon documents thus brought forward, ministers in Parliament are to be called upon to vindicate their conduct, and to review that of foreign powers at periods most inconvenient to the public service, in order to relieve themselves from charges made upon insulated and unconnected topics, without regard to the general bearings of the great transactions in which they are engaged, it is obviously impossible that the affairs of any State can be conducted with either character or effect.

In this instance, I beg leave to decline the shield which the honourable member has so kindly attempted to afford me. It is not my wish, whatever may be his, to be considered, under the present circumstances and after what has passed, as only an individual member of the government. I disdain to shelter myself from any responsibility that ought to attach to the functions which I was commissioned to discharge, by being considered as an individual member of the councils of my sovereign; all of whom were equally liable to such responsibility with myself. I should be ashamed presumptuously to arrogate to myself any responsibility not belonging to the office that I hold, or to assume any pre-eminence in those councils to which I am proud to belong: but, circumstanced as I have been, I feel that I could not accept the cover that has been offered, without a degradation of my personal character.....

If I were to lead the House to suppose that, in the arduous transactions in which I have been engaged, I had at any time suffered the machine of Congress to stand still, in order to

screen my conduct and determinations under the cover of previous instructions from my government, when the public interests might suffer from delay, or that I had withheld that impulse which the influence of Great Britain, when applied with decision, was calculated to give, I should think that I had grossly betrayed the trust reposed in me....If it shall appear, as the honourable member has, on this night and on many others, contended, that the honour of the Crown has been sullied, that the good faith of the country has been broken, or that her policy and interests have been disregarded, and her character degraded in the eyes of Europe, I desire to be considered as alone responsible; I am ready alone to meet the attack and to repel the charge.

Lord Castlereagh then proceeded to explain the state of the negociations relative to the abolition of the Slave Trade—a point for which our plenipotentiary had been particularly instructed to press the representatives of the other powers, even with offers of territorial cessions and pecuniary sacrifices: he argued—

If foreign powers have withstood those temptations held out for their conditional acceptance, whilst our exertions should be continued without relaxation to bring them to a more favourable decision, it is but fair and just for Parliament to conclude that there were serious difficulties in the way of those governments immediately lending themselves to our wishes, and that we are bound to make allowances for the motives which induced them not to embark in what they held to be to them a dangerous experiment. With a view to the success of the object itself, we ought not to disgust them by our inconsiderate reproaches.

Though the Slave Trade is not actually abolished, yet I have the satisfaction to announce that a great step has been made towards its suppression. The eight powers who were parties to the Treaty of Paris have published a solemn declaration that

it was fit that this detestable traffic should be swept from the face of the earth. The claim which particular powers who still traffic in slaves make for themselves, is that so much time shall be allowed for its discontinuance as is necessary for the welfare, security, and internal tranquillity of their respective dominions, and more particularly their colonies; and they pledge themselves to the world then to put an end to this nefarious trade. I am happy in being able to congratulate the House on this important result. It will be obvious that no small step has been gained, by inducing every power in Europe not only to pronounce against the general principle of the traffic in human beings, but to pronounce in favour of its actual, final, and early extinction.....Spain and Portugal, who have hitherto made the least progress towards the final accomplishment of the object, have declared eight years to be the utmost interval before it is abolished by them, and I do not despair that even this period may yet be reduced. With respect to France, although I have not yet been able to persuade the French government to depart from their original determination, yet, from all the intercourse I have had with the minister of his Most Christian Majesty, my belief is that they are sincerely desirous to put the earliest termination to this trade that they can reconcile to the general opinion and the prevailing prejudices of their own nation.

I should not have satisfied Parliament, or indeed my own sense of public duty, if I had not made every effort to procure a partial abolition of the Slave Trade, particularly north of the Line. But I do not myself consider this important question as yet terminated at Vienna; for some of the plenipotentiaries, for instance, that of Portugal, had not time to receive sufficient instructions on the subject from their government, and therefore did not deem themselves authorized to determine upon it. Measures have, in consequence, been taken to adjourn the Congress, as far as the Slave Trade is concerned, and to establish a commission, composed of accredited agents, in London or Paris, to continue the negociations upon the subject.

Having disposed of the question of the Slave Trade, Lord Castlereagh passed to the consideration of the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna, in regard to European States.

Every gentleman in the House must be aware that the Congress was assembled for the purpose of carrying into effect the peace of Paris, a peace which received the approbation of even the honourable gentleman: not that I mean to imply that he is bound to applaud any proceedings that have been since founded upon it, if he thinks them not deserving of applause. The fair question then is, whether, taking the Treaty of Paris as the basis upon which the late deliberations at Vienna were established, and upon the general principles of which those deliberations were to be pursued, whatever declarations might at other times have been issued — whether, I say, under all the circumstances of the case, those who were engaged in this great undertaking have fairly and honourably executed the task imposed upon them, and what judgment the House and the world at large, for whom they acted, ought to pronounce upon their conduct.

I am prepared to meet the honourable gentleman upon that issue: I will, at the proper moment, disguise none of the circumstances of the case; I will then disclose every particle of intelligence upon every single point; I will, at the proper time, avow them openly; and if, on the present occasion, I am accused of withholding any portion of these transactions, it is only because it is not possible for me, with a due regard for the interests of the public service, to lay them all open to the view of the world. But, on every part of this complicated question, I will be prepared to meet the honourable gentleman: I will be prepared to vindicate it against the foul calumnies with which, no doubt from misapprehension and misinformation, he has thought fit to impugn the councils of his country, and to bring charges of the most nefarious character against other governments that have been parties to those transactions, without the slightest foundation for his accusations, and, as I will take

leave to say, with great prejudice to the general interests and welfare of Europe. In the commencement, the House will allow me to protest against the principle which the honourable gentleman has attempted to lay down for the sovereigns of Europe. If, as he contends, they had issued a Declaration, under the construction of which all the ancient governments of Europe which Time had swept away were to be re-created; that those rude and shapeless fabrics, which had long been thrown down, and had long ceased to exist in any tangible form, were to be reconstructed without any consideration of the real tendency of such a reconstruction; that those scattered fragments were again to be sought out of the obscurity of past ages, and again to be put together, without reflecting upon the probable consequences—upon the corruptions that had grown up under the shade of those antiquated and ruinous institutions—without recollecting how far those very governments had tended to produce the calamities by which Europe had been so long and so severely visited, and which might in time have the very effect of re-creating the dangers which we have just escaped—I say, if the Declarations of the sovereigns were to be so construed and understood, I should have felt ashamed that my country had belonged to a confederacy founded upon such a principle of imbecility.

The true question is—and I think the honourable gentleman is too much of a statesman and too manly in his understanding not to meet me upon that issue—whether the deliberations and decisions of Congress were guided by an ascertained and worthy principle; whether the basis of a solid and lasting pacification was or was not in itself unsound; and whether, for the sake of the attainment of any partial or selfish views, any of the parties, but more especially this country, had betrayed the trust reposed in them by the confidence of Europe. It is upon these grounds, and these only, that I mean to argue the question, and to refute the assertions and positions of the honourable member.....

I apprehend that, in the whole course of the negociations lately held for the attainment of a general peace, it was

perfectly understood that the purpose of the sovereigns of Europe, after the contests they had endured, was to establish and reorganize the two great monarchies of Europe, that had been almost annihilated as monarchies, to accomplish the designs of the late ruler of France—I mean, Austria and Prussia.

The object, as all gentlemen must be aware, was to gain and permanently secure greater safety on both flanks of the two States which were to form the immediate bulwarks of Europe, to give adequate power, by means of the additional strength which they should supply to that State of North Germany which should be charged with the preservation of that portion of the Continent. It was also desirable that a strong barrier should be interposed between the States of Italy and France, to prevent them also from ever arraying themselves against each other. It was further wished that Switzerland should be re-established in her influence and independence, to keep up the chain of communication, and that Germany might be again confederated in the same system, to render it an impregnable bulwark between the great States in the East and West of Europe. The question is: Have these arrangements been calculated to produce such a state of things as all professed to be desirous of creating; or have particular powers been unjustly aggrandized, and have the Potentates acted at the Congress in the honest and faithful execution of the trust reposed in them, and of the general purpose which it was their interest to keep in view?

And here I will beg leave to protest against another, and, as I conceive, unfair mode in which the honourable member endeavoured to influence the House upon this subject. He read a letter written by the French minister, in reference to a particular question, in which the writer contends that the important point was not to be decided by throwing, as it were, the whole population of Europe into a general fund, and dealing it out in such quantities as might supply the wants of the various sovereigns whose power was to be augmented. I mean not to deny that the letter may have been written; and, if so, it was done in general opposition to the allotment of the whole

of Saxony to Prussia as a territorial aggrandizement. If there were not powerfully operating circumstances, I should be the first to admit that no calculation of mere population could justify such a measure: but, while I admit that the principle of population ought not to prevail, if merely the morality of the question were at issue, I hope it will not be denied that the importance of population, and of the wealth consequent upon it, is great, when we are arguing the question of a balance of power in Europe, and what shall be considered a just distribution of force between the sovereigns who are to be charged with maintaining the tranquillity of the Continent.

Referring next to the case of Genoa, Lord Castlereagh said:

The accusation, as the House will recollect, is that this country and her allies have been guilty of a breach of faith towards Genoa..... Most solemnly do I declare to the House, that, if there has been any breach of faith, it is not this government that is to be charged with the offence; but those who impugn our proceedings must heap their wrath upon me. It is far better that I should be accused, and suffer all the odium that may belong to this proceeding, than that what I conceive to be the very soul and principle of the existence of much of our influence among foreign powers should be hazarded upon the subject. If, upon any solid and substantial ground, the good faith of England can be called in question among the nations of the Continent, I do believe that one great source of our power and influence is gone; that the life and soul which has animated the public affairs of this country is lost and dead; that we should lose that respect and esteem among foreign nations which have been one of the chief foundations of our brilliant successes. Without that character on the part of Great Britain for unimpeachable good faith and integrity in her engagements, I am persuaded that we never could have achieved those results for the preservation of the independence of Europe which the great powers of the Continent know that we have achieved, and for the benefits resulting from which

they are so mainly indebted to this country, and for which, I can assure the House, they are duly and fully sensible.....

To a certain degree, I admit that the honourable gentleman is well founded in his facts; but, partly for the sake of argument, partly from misinformation, he has so dressed them up in ornaments not belonging to them, that it is sometimes very difficult to recognise the original fact in the drapery in which he has involved it.

It is true, as he has endeavoured to show, that, at a period somewhat remote, before I was honoured with the seals of the foreign department, Government had received intelligence which induced them to believe that a spirit favourable to the general sense of Europe existed in Italy; that there existed a strong disposition to throw off the French yoke. We undoubtedly felt disposed to take advantage of these favourable symptoms, and to lend any assistance consistent with the maintenance of more important objects.....That this alleged disposition of the people of Italy ever assumed any such appearance as that stated by the honourable member, I have no knowledge: that the form of the Government to be established was actually fixed; that the Sovereign who was to preside over it was named; and, in short, that the regular existence of a new independent kingdom was determined upon, I never had any reason to suppose.....But I conclude that, if any effort were to be made for independence on the other side of the Alps, it must have been an Italian effort, and nothing else: because we had not then any large disposable force in that part of the world, and Austria, compelled by the events of war to retire, had at that time no footing in Italy.....In point of fact, were the expectations raised with respect to Italy realized? I can assure the House that they never were realized in the smallest degree.....

Never were assurances so little fulfilled as those which the British Government received from the Italians, never were any so futile in the result.....The expectations of assistance on the part of Italy were falsified to such a degree, that, while one half of the armies of France was employed in a disastrous war in Spain, and the other half marched into Russia and there

destroyed, at the time when Italy was literally stripped of troops, in order to accomplish the ambitious designs of the ruler of France, not a man rose in Italy, from one end of it to the other. Buonaparte, at that time, when he had scarcely a soldier to maintain his authority there, had it been disputed, possessed Italy in a state of perfect and implicit obedience. Notwithstanding the spirit of disaffection which had been so much talked of, and which, as the honourable gentleman says, had actually led to the establishment in idea of a new government under a new head, Buonaparte had as complete possession of every part of Italy as our Government has of the county of York, or any other the most loyal district of the kingdom..... The Italians did not raise an arm in their own cause; and, for any benefits that result from the subversion of that authority under which they had so long groaned, they are indebted to the Allies; for themselves they did and attempted nothing.....

His Majesty's Government, finding that the expectations indulged were not in the slightest degree accomplished, made a total change in the destination of the force with which they designed to second the supposed efforts of the people of Italy: it was sent to Spain to aid the Duke of Wellington.....

Does not the House recollect the period when Austria joined the great confederacy of the Allies, and when all were sensible that the rescue of enslaved Europe depended upon the determination of that great Power, which, by exerting itself at that moment on the side of independence, could put an end to the bondage, or, by continuing inactive, perhaps perpetuate, but certainly long retard, the liberty and happiness of all surrounding nations? At such a moment, it was part of the wise policy of this country — a policy which, I hope, she will ever pursue —to attach Austria to the cause that we had so long espoused. There was not, there could not be, a second opinion on the subject. It was not only the evident policy under the circumstances, but the absolute necessity of the case. The assistance which Austria could bring into the field was not to be put in competition for a moment with an actual insurrection, if it had,

as we were led to expect, really broken out; for all men felt that Austria was in truth the great hinge on which the fate of mankind must ultimately depend....

The House cannot be ignorant that all the united powers were to have but one common interest, to act for the success of one common cause, to stand or fall together, and, above all, that no particular State was to enter into any arrangement, or to join in any particular act for its own exclusive benefit. Whatever other Powers may have done, and I assure the House that I know no reason to impugn their conduct in this respect, I will venture to affirm that the acts of Great Britain have not been guided by any wish to gratify national and separate views and interests, but to pursue a liberal and enlarged system of moral policy, which had in view her own welfare, so far only as it secured the liberty and happiness of all the other Powers with whom she was combined....

The House will perceive that the whole of the honourable gentleman's argument is that we were bound to maintain Italian independence—his argument is distinct and regular in its form. He charges the Government with a breach of faith, inasmuch as we have consented to what has been accomplished in regard to Genoa, when, in truth, we were bound to maintain the independence of Italy against the Austrian power.

I maintain, on our part, that no man acquainted with the state of Europe, either now or at a former period, could support for a moment, with any show of reason, the position that our alliance with Austria admitted of the possibility of maintaining Italy independent as a separate kingdom. What was our engagement with Austria? Did it not go to the full extent of restoring Austria to the same situation of territorial importance in which she before stood in Italy? Such a treaty was wholly incompatible and inconsistent with the vision of Italian independence presented to the honourable member, and which he wishes to fasten upon the country as a matter of good faith, which, by her late decisions, she has neglected and abandoned.

With respect to the Proclamation issued by Lord

William Bentinck, on which so much stress had been laid, Lord Castlereagh insisted that

His words were to be understood with some limit; and when he promises independence to the Genoese, it could only be such independence as the engagements and good faith of his Government could allow. He could continue nothing on his own sole authority, and no man could understand him to intend it, especially when it must be so incompatible with the general scheme and system of European politics. I am positive that, by the Proclamation, he never meant to convey such an idea as to guarantee an independence that he had it not in his power to bestow.....

Having thus, in the judgment of the House, I hope, a little relieved ourselves from the charge of a breach of good faith, at least, as far as the general principles on which we proceeded were concerned, I shall pass on to the other points, assured that the House will go along with me in feeling that so far this country has not been guilty of any breach of the public faith. —(Cheers from Mr. Whitbread.)

Does the honourable member dispute that position? If he does dispute it, all I can say is that he is the most determined accuser of the councils of his country, without either fact or argument on his side, that ever came within my knowledge....

Setting aside the question whether the Genoese did or did not know of the intention to annex their territory to Piedmont long before it was carried into effect, upon which, however, there cannot be the least doubt, I am prepared to contend that the Powers assembled in Congress at Vienna decided wisely with respect to Europe, and rightly in respect to Genoa; that, in fact, it was a resolution calculated to conduce to the happiness of the Genoese and to the general welfare and security of Europe. It was held to be a point of so much importance to Europe, that I have no objection to state that the union of Genoa and Piedmont was looked upon as a matter determined by the various Allied Powers before they quitted Paris.

Will the honourable gentleman say—whether there were or

were not any secret articles—that the Sovereigns of Europe were not justified in then having any points on which their minds were not made up? If so he contends, I shall take leave to enter my protest against any such opinion.

I set a high value, most assuredly, on the good opinion of the honourable gentleman; I am always happy to meet with his approbation, and the more so because I seldom have that good fortune: but, whatever may be that value, and whatever the weight and deference due to his censure, it is not to prevent the kingdoms of Europe from taking measures for their own security and happiness. I confess that I am not quite so fond of popularity as to wish for it at that expense; but, when he asks me whether there were not secret articles in the Treaty of Paris, I answer that, if there were any which the parties to it were not ready at the time to declare and avow, I should be willing to allow Europe and its Sovereigns to incur that execration to which the honourable gentleman is so ready to consign them.

The House will be aware that, whatever those articles might be, their application was not finally and entirely decided; and that was the reason why they were not proclaimed. I admit very willingly that there were circumstances understood between the Powers at Paris that did not form part of the ostensible Treaty; and, so they acted up to those principles, it cannot be contended that any deception was employed, that any fraud was practised, upon the people of Europe. So far am I—and I should think most reasonable men would concur with me—from blaming the parties to the Treaty for entering into this understanding upon various topics, that I should have thought it very unwise and a great indiscretion not to have come to some sort of previous decision.

The honourable gentleman asks me whether in the Treaty there was any thing respecting Holland. I admit that there was; and, if any reproach be due on that account, I desire that I may bear my full share of the blame, and the more so, because I believe I may say that it was principally owing to me that Holland was mentioned; and I should have despaired of the cause of the

country if I had not done so, and betrayed, as I think, a criminal confidence in the ministers of France, if I had not brought them to an understanding of the essential interests of this country with regard to Holland before I parted with the essential securities which I still retained in my hands. At the same time, I was not to deprive France of the situation in which I wished to place her. I wished to make her an important and deliberating party to the Treaty; and the House will allow me to state here that no confidence, no faith, that I placed in the conduct of the French Government, either with respect to the Slave Trade, or to any other subject, has been abused. France has conducted herself throughout these proceedings—and I hope this fact will produce, in the mind of the honourable gentleman, a practical sense of the fitness and necessity of preserving that Government, if, by any efforts of this country not inconsistent with moral and national prudence, or with what we owe to another great people, we are able to support it—France, I say, has conducted herself in a manner that must give the utmost satisfaction to all parties, who, I am sure, will feel the propriety of aiding and supporting a Government that has given peace to the world, and, by the situation in which it has been placed among the nations of Europe, is able and willing to maintain it.....

France adopted all the engagements and fundamental treaties which the Allies had made among themselves, and which were not generally disseminated. She came to Congress, in no way fettered in her decisions, or influenced in her judgment, a free agent to deliberate upon the important topics to be there decided. She did not come, as the honourable gentleman supposed, to throw loose the bonds that united together the European powers in interest and action; but as a free and independent State, to partake in the deliberations and to form her own decision how far she should support the Treaty of the Allies, and how far its engagements were consistent with the general salvation of Europe and the particular re-establishment of France.

If we had not obtained that previous recognition on her part respecting the future plans of Congress, what would have been

the consequence? France would have come to the Congress as an inimical, not a friendly power. If for no other, this was surely an adequate reason for obtaining those stipulations, and for not making them the subject of communication to Parliament. They were not withheld, because there was in them any principle of which Europe or her negociators need be ashamed, but because such a disclosure would have been attended with many evil consequences, and the House must be sensible that they were not in a shape to be properly made the subject of deliberation.....

In the speech of the honourable gentleman, every State in Europe has been made the subject of charge and accusation. He has elevated himself into the situation assumed by a person in the National Assembly of France—a gentleman who considered that he acted under a general delegation from mankind, the ambassador of the human race—who took upon himself to censure or applaud, to deliberate or pronounce upon any or every subject that came under discussion. The honourable member is, I know, very different in many respects from that individual; but he seems, on this occasion particularly, to have undertaken the task of judging for all the rest of the world, and of setting himself in opposition to every government in Europe. He has employed himself, not on the present occasion alone, I believe I may say, not only in making a constitutional opposition to the administration of his own country, but he does appear to me to have added to it the duty of attacking all the governments of Europe in succession, and of defaming and vilifying the persons of all the sovereigns.

Reverting to the subject of Genoa, Lord Castlereagh entered into further explanations relative to the proceedings of Lord William Bentinck, and particularly referred to his Proclamation, which had afforded such a fertile theme for obloquy.

Of course, I should have been glad if the Proclamation issued to the Genoese had been more precisely worded, con-

sidering the use that has been made of it; I should have been glad if there could not have been two opinions about it, and that it had conveyed to the Genoese, as no doubt was the meaning of the person who put it forth, without the possibility of mistake, that the government which he then restored was only to exist provisionally, and until the decision of the allied powers was known, as to any alterations or modifications which they might think it right to make. But I contend that, to those who view this instrument fairly and candidly, without prejudice on one side or the other, it will be perfectly clear upon the face of it, that nothing more was meant than I have stated. I insist that it is evident that Lord William Bentinck meant the Genoese to understand that the government which he restored should only be revived provisionally. In the very preamble to the Proclamation, his Lordship declares that he re-establishes it, not because he is authorized to that effect, but because he thinks it most consistent with the general plans and purposes of the allied powers. He revives the old government, but that act is not to take from the allies all power to decide and act upon their own understanding of their own general principles.....

As for any claim that the Genoese have upon us for zeal and energy in the liberation of themselves and for assistance afforded to our forces, that falls to the ground; they certainly have none. They have indeed a claim upon our good-will; and our conduct has been, I trust, such as to evince it: but, as for any claim upon the good faith or upon the discretion of the country, even for maintaining that form of government which the British general had established, I can assure the House that there is nothing in it.

What was done on the arrival of the troops was no more than this:—A general officer came out of the place merely to desire that the town might not be bombarded. On the part of the natives, it was a dry and unconditional surrender, and as complete a conquest of the place, by every principle of war and the laws of nations, as ever was effected in any country of the world.....

To show that the Genoese themselves had put upon Lord William Bentinck's Proclamation that construction which it was intended to bear, his Lordship related what had passed between himself and an envoy whom they called their minister plenipotentiary, and who was sent to Paris to communicate their wishes to his Lordship.

On waiting upon me, he put into my hand a very detailed note, expressive of the general feeling of the Genoese; and, when this document is laid upon the table of the House, the honourable member will not find, even in this note of their own plenipotentiary, that the Genoese speak as if they thought that Lord William Bentinck had given them a fixed and regular government. What was the object of the visit of this envoy to me at Paris, but to solicit that which, according to the honourable gentleman, had been given by our officer, and given irrevocably, without a breach of faith on the part of the government?

I should think that I deserved censure for my want of candour, if I had not been quite explicit with him. I told him that, so far from Lord William Bentinck's having given them, or having the power to give them permanently, their old form of government, he had positive orders from his own country to the contrary. I endeavoured to explain to him why it could only have been a provisional government, and why Lord William Bentinck could not be understood to revive it. I told him that, if the British officer had thought there was any reason to doubt the understanding of the people upon the point, it was his duty to undeceive them. I even put it to the minister of the Genoese, whether in truth they were deceived by it; and he admitted, what is undoubtedly the fact, that they never were deceived upon the subject from the first moment to the present; they always understood that what Lord William Bentinck gave them was a provisional government and nothing more. Whatever use may have been made

of this Proclamation at home, to bring accusations of a breach of faith against the government, or whatever use may have been made of it abroad, with the more venial view of establishing a claim to the good offices of the country; still I am confident that, from the time the British army came before the place to the time when I saw their envoy in Paris, the Genoese were never for one moment deceived as to the probability of their ultimate annexation to Piedmont.

The Genoese plenipotentiary delivered in to me a regular argumentative reply to what had passed in our conversation; and it is important to show, not merely that I was perfectly explicit upon the subject with him, but that he not only then clearly comprehended that the government of Genoa was not permanent, but that it could not be so, and that Lord William Bentinck had never intended that it should be so. So clearly was the subject understood by the envoy, and so fully did I explain the different points to him, that he actually discussed with me the qualifications under which Genoa should be annexed to Piedmont.

Before I proceed further, I beg leave, in the broadest and most distinct manner, to refute the assertion of the honourable member, that the allied powers have departed from the general principles which they laid down for their guide; that they have departed from their Declarations, and have been actuated by the same desire of conquest, and the same love of aggrandizement, which they had taken up arms to crush. The allies disclaim having been actuated by any such motives; they deny that they have had any rule of conduct but what was consistent with general peace and security; they have acted upon the largest, broadest, and most generous principles; and, in the general scope and scale of their conduct, I deny that they have departed from any of the great principles laid down in their Declarations.

But, can the House believe that they were such children in their conduct, so unfit for the high situation in which they were placed, when the tranquillity and happiness of the whole world depended upon them, as to enter into engagements and

lay themselves under general obligations to do what would be fatal to the very objects which they had in view? Will the House believe that they could for a moment engage themselves, by restoring old and forgotten systems of government, to defeat their own projects of peace and security to Europe? Would they so stultify themselves before the face of Europe and the world, as to enter into a pledge that would disqualify them from changing the face of Europe into that happy state which might be best calculated for ensuring the welfare and the tranquillity of mankind?

Such an understanding of the Declarations of the allied sovereigns appears to me so absurd, so utterly incompatible with any thing like sound common sense, that I should have thought that it could not for a moment be seriously entertained by any man possessing half the judgment and shrewdness of the honourable member, without his having a most perverted taste for running down governments and vilifying sovereigns, which, in the times we live in, is at least indecent and dangerous.....

Every body knows that Genoa is most important as a military position; that, in fact, it is the most important military possession in the north of Italy, and that more depends on holding that post than upon the retention of almost any other place in the whole of Italy. Assuredly, this consideration was not and ought not to have been neglected by the allies in deciding upon the question; and I apprehend that, whether their determination be right or wrong, at least none of the sovereigns or their ministers can be charged with improper motives in this case; for never could there be any decision less open to the imputation of improper inducements than the decision with regard to Genoa. As far as this country was peculiarly concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that, if we had not pursued that generous and noble line of policy which all the powers laid down for themselves, the separate interests of Great Britain might, no doubt, have been promoted by the re-establishment of an insulated commercial republic like Genoa in that situation: and be it remembered

also that, throughout all these negociations, the Genoese have been invariably willing to unite themselves with England; our ships were to be allowed to enter with every commercial facility; and, if we would have consented to their union with us, they would, I believe, have willingly entered into it. But, had we been guided by these distinct and unworthy views of selfish advantage, the allied powers of the continent would certainly have had reason to complain that we were pursuing our own commercial speculations, and breaking loose from the great principles by which, from the beginning, we professed to have been actuated.

But, as far as the fate of Genoa was a British question, I have no hesitation to say that, so far as a British minister could lend himself to such an object, it was our interest to keep Genoa separate from the rest of Italy; but, in deciding upon this point by all the parties, there never was a question on which it was possible to impute less unworthy motives than those that governed this determination. There was not, in fact, a single power that could, by any near probability, have a base or sordid motive in coming to the conclusion that has been complained of. France, indeed, might have some motive for deciding the point the other way, in order to keep up the ancient contest between Genoa and Piedmont. But, during the whole negociation, France did not improperly interpose in any way, and conducted herself throughout with unimpeachable honour and integrity: indeed, as I have before said, not a single person, in deciding the fate of Genoa, had any other object in view than the general security. The motive of the determination was a sincere conviction of the necessity of a barrier between France and Italy, which ought to be made effectual on the side of Piedmont. The object was to commit the defence of the Alps, and of the great road leading round them by the Gulf of Genoa, between France and Italy, to the same power to which it had formerly been entrusted. On that principle, the question relating to Genoa had been entertained and decided by the allied sovereigns.....It was not resolved upon because any particular State had unworthy and sordid views,

nor from any interest or feeling in favour of the King of Sardinia; but solely to make him, as far as was necessary, the instrument of the general policy of Europe.....

In one part of his speech, the honourable gentleman said, that he knew not why the noble lord went to Vienna, why he did not stay there, or why, having come away, and re-appeared in Parliament, he is not prepared to give a full communication to the House. Why I went to Vienna, I trust he will not expect me now to explain. I should imagine that it is well known why I went. I went to Vienna, because I was ordered by my Sovereign to go; and I returned to my place in Parliament, because I received a similar direction for that purpose. Why the order for my return was given, perhaps, the honourable gentleman will not think it necessary that I should explain. At the time when I left Vienna, the arrangements were not absolutely concluded, and put into a regular shape to be laid before Parliament; yet they had arrived at such a point, and been put into such a shape, as would enable me at least to touch upon those transactions, and give explanations upon such parts as particularly required my presence in the execution . . . . . With the exception of that single branch which relates to the arrangements of Italy southward of the Po, I may say that all the other points are finished and decided; and to such an extent are they decided, that the arrangements have been reduced into articles in the same form as they would have in the ultimate treaty to be entered into by all the powers. These articles have been signed by the different plenipotentiaries of the sovereigns, and are considered as binding and obligatory upon them, only requiring to be finally and formally executed.

The honourable member has asked whether France has been a consenting party to those arrangements. I have no hesitation in stating, if it can be any satisfaction to him, that she has been a consenting party to them, with no more difference of opinion than, I may say, ought to prevail upon questions of such extreme doubt and difficulty. It gives me pleasure to be able to declare that France has acted upon the same broad and liberal principles that have guided the other powers. She

has been an honest party to the Congress, doing her duty to Europe and herself. Her plenipotentiary acted with perfect fairness and openness, during the deliberations; and though he may have written some particular note at a time when discussions upon a certain point were not terminated, and may, in the warmth of some of these discussions, have found something upon which to express his reprobation with regard to the arrangement alluded to, yet, neither on the part of France, nor on the part of any other State that I am aware of, could any fair complaint be made of improper proceeding in any one respect; and I think that I cannot adduce to the House a stronger proof of the inconvenience resulting from discussions of this sort, than the partial and unjust use made of the document to which I refer. I think that I cannot lay before it a more striking instance of the danger, the desperate danger, of suffering transactions of this nature to be called in question piecemeal, to be discussed and debated upon every single paper that chances to fall into the hands of any honourable member, instead of waiting till the proper time arrives, and the subject can be freely, fairly, and fully canvassed, and a judgment formed becoming the wisdom of the British Parliament. Instead of that, subjects yet under discussion at Vienna were dragged into premature debate in this House, and most serious injury was often done, not only to our own cause, but to that of Europe at large. The honourable member produces in the House a document, he knows not how procured; he discusses it, follows it up, pursues the subject to the fullest extent that it will admit of, or that his ingenuity can devise, and then, after doing all the mischief that is possible, as on this occasion, he asks whether it is an official document, and whether there is any foundation for all that he has been saying, and any reason for all the mischief that he has been doing. Against such a mode of proceeding, I feel it necessary to enter my protest.

With respect to two most important features of the late negociations, I mean the reconstruction of the Austrian and Prussian monarchies—I call them most important features,

because every man must be sensible that, until they were restored to their former rank and importance, there would remain a great blank in Europe; that, until they were re-established in adequate strength, there was no bulwark against any future encroachments by France; that, until they were placed upon their original footing, Europe was not herself, and was deprived of the two main pillars of her security—I say, with respect to the Austrian and Prussian monarchies, I have the satisfaction to state, that they have now, by the decisions of the allies, regained their former rank and weight in the scale of Europe, in a mode which discharges them from many of the calumnies that the honourable member has endeavoured to throw upon them. I am aware, and he is now aware, I apprehend, that he made those accusations upon imperfect information; but, until he had obtained better proof, I should have thought, the more regular, as well as the more judicious course, both for himself and for them, would have been to withhold his assertions that Austria and Prussia were endeavouring to seize and appropriate to themselves, as if by right of conquest, territories to which they have no right, upon any principles of moderation or of fair repartition. But I may say, with perfect confidence, in justification of those States, after all that I have seen, that they have neither done nor consented to any act which should call in question the general moderation of those States.

The principle laid down as the rule of conduct for their reconstruction, was the state of their possessions in the year 1805. The House will, I am sure, admit that, in fixing upon that period, Austria, at least, did not choose a time that was particularly marked by any spirit of aggrandizement. By taking 1805, instead of 1792, the period of the Revolution, she placed out of the question her possessions in the Netherlands. It is true that, in 1805, she had possession of the States of Venice, but she was then two millions weaker in population than in 1792. The period which Prussia took was the time immediately preceding the spoliation of that kingdom by France.

On a general view of the present state of those two monarchies,

it will be found that, notwithstanding the unreasonable exertions to obtain additional and supereminent power, which they have been charged with making, notwithstanding the ambitious and grasping spirit which they are alleged to have shown, in consequence of the decision of the Congress, neither of them has obtained any accession of the least importance, beyond what they could demand under the strict application of the principle of re-establishment which they had at first laid down.

Though some of the territorial possessions of Prussia may lie wider, and be upon a somewhat more extended scale than formerly, yet it will appear, by the most accurate calculations, that the utmost she has obtained beyond what she had in 1805 is about 50,000 souls; while Austria, from the slight alterations in her territorial possessions, has not gained more than three or four hundred thousand new subjects. So much for the greedy spirit of aggrandizement which they have shown; and, upon the whole, I assert most decidedly that nothing can be less true than the imputations cast upon the arrangements made for the two powers of which I have been speaking.

The honourable gentleman has referred, in a very pointed manner, to two other important transactions which came under the decision of the Congress—I mean, with regard to Saxony and Poland. On these subjects, I have no objection to give him and the House all the information I can, consistently with that reservation which I feel compelled, by a sense of duty, to observe respecting transactions not yet finally closed. All I have to beg is, that the honourable gentleman and the House will suspend their judgment until more complete information than, under the circumstances, I am able to supply, shall be afforded.

The honourable gentleman has arraigned, in the severest terms, the conduct of the Congress, on account of the arrangement adopted in regard to Saxony: he has called it a base and intolerable purpose to annex Saxony to Prussia. I should perhaps agree with him in thinking that it would not be wise or fit to give the whole of Saxony to the Prussian King; and, having never concealed or disguised my opinion on that sub-

ject, I have no hesitation to avow that I was one of the ministers at the Congress, who differed from the Prussian plenipotentiary and others upon this point; and that I was one of the persons who felt entitled, at Vienna, to contend, in the strongest manner, against the incorporation of the whole of Saxony with the Prussian dominions. I should have felt, however, that more intolerable injustice might be done in other directions; but so strong were the sentiments of the British Government upon this subject, and so serious the remonstrances made, that the settlement now existing in Saxony was ultimately obtained by a sacrifice, in some degree, of the interests of Holland and Hanover.

But let me not be misunderstood. I never was one of those who contested the point upon the principle assumed by the honourable gentleman, that it must, in any case, be inconsistent with the duties of the powers of Europe assembled at Vienna, with the express leave of the nation itself, to annex even the whole of Saxony to Prussia. I never opposed it on the ground of mere abstract right; and I broadly and avowedly deny any assertions that may have been made regarding my conduct in that respect. I contended that the right of conquest, under the qualifications which I shall presently state, was a right which gave the conqueror a perfect warrant to annex the whole of a subjugated country to another State. I deny that I had argued this matter on any other principle, and cannot suffer the honourable member to give me credit for a line of conduct which he may perhaps applaud, but which I did not think fit to follow in this particular transaction.

I take no pleasure in stating anything that may be injurious to the illustrious monarch, who is now, I apprehend, at the head of the Kingdom of Saxony; I hope that he will long continue to reign over his subjects in happiness, after the painful scenes through which he has passed; but I must be allowed to argue, and I do it with perfect confidence, that never was the principle of conquest more legitimately applicable, or more justifiably exercisable than in the case of Saxony. Her conduct furnished, as the House knows, an instance of former unwarrantable aggrandizement, and of the most persevering resistance

to the allies. The King drew the consequences upon himself by his own acts. His great exertions against the common cause of the rest of the European powers are known; and, although it is known that opportunities were afforded to the King of Saxony to unite his interests with those of the allies, he thought fit, on his own view of the subject, to employ his efforts in maintaining the power of France. He made this choice after he had been placed in circumstances where he might have withdrawn himself from among the supporters of Buonaparte, if he had not thought that perseverance in the cause of the man who had given him his crown was not the best mode of preserving his dominions.

Saxony was a conquered country, in the strictest sense of the word; though it is true that the Saxon army, on the third day of the battle of Leipsic, did join the allies, and perhaps decide the victory, yet the House must know that Saxony, until that moment, which did not depend upon the voice of the sovereign, had been a power whose army and resources were devoted to the cause of the common enemy against whom we were fighting.....

I put this case to the House, with regard to Saxony—Admitting and believing that the re-establishment of Prussia in the same state of strength and security that she held in 1805 is necessary to the general repose and safety of Europe, if no other mode of re-establishing and restoring that kingdom had existed, is there any man, who, in point of justice, would have thought fit to put the case of Saxony in competition with that of Prussia? Suppose it was impossible for the two kingdoms to exist in the new form which Europe was to take, is there any man who would say that Saxony should be continued and Prussia abolished, and her name swept from the face of Europe? But that was not the question before the Congress; the question respecting Saxony, from first to last, was this, whether in truth Prussia would derive from the annexation of Saxony that advantage which she expected. As there was ground to presume that Prussia could be reinstated without the sacrifice at least of the whole of Saxony, I was strongly of opinion that to push the general principle to extremity against Saxony

would be doing mischief to Prussia, instead of promoting her ultimate and permanent advantage.

I was persuaded that the public feeling not merely of the people of Germany, but of other countries, would have been wounded by so great and complete a sacrifice of an ancient family; that the general opinion of mankind would have revolted at such a proceeding, and that Prussia would be prejudiced in the general estimation of Europe by the annexation. Prussia, it was true, had made unexampled efforts in the general cause; but I did not think that in the eyes of Europe she would be entitled to demand so great a sacrifice. Such being the state of my mind upon this very important point, I conceived it to be my duty to resist, as far as possible, the incorporation at least of the whole of Saxony with Prussia.

A great deal has been said upon this and former occasions concerning the Proclamation of Prince Repnin: the short history of it was this: Prussia, which laid claim to Saxony, desired that the provisional occupation of that country, which had before been held by the Russian troops, should be given to her. Application was made to me and to the Austrian minister for our consent to this alteration, which was given, but with an express understanding, at least on my part, and I believe on the part of the Austrian minister, that it was only to be a provisional occupation, and that the ultimate fate of Saxony was to await the decision of the Congress. I am confident that the House will concur with me in thinking that, if it were in our power to choose who should have the provisional occupation of a country, it would be right to fix upon that power which was most likely to hold it afterwards, and which would, in all probability, treat the people with more indulgence and pay more attention to their comforts, in their endeavours to conciliate them, than a power which was not expected to have any relation or connexion with them in future.

The honourable member asks, then, How came Prince Repnin to issue that Proclamation, in which he declared that he came to take permanent possession of the country? It is really impossible for me to explain how every misconception arose, how every unauthorized act was committed, or why this

was done by an officer certainly of the highest character, acting, I have no doubt, from the best judgment that he was able to form at a distance from his government. The first knowledge I obtained on the subject was conveyed to me by a copy of the Proclamation sent from the neighbourhood of Dresden. I lost no time in carrying it to the Prussian minister, and from him to the minister of the Emperor of Russia. The former assured me that he had neither seen nor heard of it till that moment: the latter was equally uninformed upon the subject; and they concurred in opinion that the proceeding was wholly unauthorized. Indeed, I afterwards received in writing a distinct and formal declaration to that effect from the Prussian minister, Prince Hardenberg.

Respecting Poland, I should wish the House to reserve its judgment until the whole subject can be disclosed. Whatever may be the final decision of the Congress in regard to that country, the House, I am sure, will be gratified to learn that the situation of its brave people will be considerably ameliorated by the new arrangements. There was undoubtedly a strong feeling in the country upon the subject of independence and a separate government: indeed there was, I believe, but one feeling, and, as far I was able, I exerted myself to attain that object.....Whatever may be the particular arrangements resolved upon, or the form of government that shall in future be established, I may venture to say, that in the Congress there was but one feeling—that the whole should be governed under a different system, as Poland. That portion which will form the duchy of Warsaw will be under the sceptre of a different prince; and I have reason to believe that the principle of the government in general will be found far more congenial with the feelings and wishes of the Poles than when they were placed under the authority of different masters from those to whom they will in future be considered to belong. The natives will be relieved from those local difficulties which attached even to their principal duties and avocations, and upon the whole will be ruled upon a system of liberality befitting the spirit of the times. Whatever policy may have formerly prevailed with regard to Poland, a general determination has

been taken by such powers as are interested in the question to promote, by all possible means, the welfare of the people of this most unfortunate portion of Europe, and to establish in the country a system by which the Poles shall be governed as Poles, with the rights and privileges that ought to belong to them...

I can assure the House that, on my part, there was not wanting any exertion that appeared to me conducive to this important object, and consistent with the general peace of Europe, and indeed with the welfare of the Poles themselves, which, I trust, has been duly consulted. I know that it was the wish of a vast number of persons in this country, and, I believe, in Poland, that it should be erected into a separate State, to maintain its own rank and independence in Europe; but such was not the wish of all. It was found inconsistent with the views of several of the other great powers of Europe; and the House must be aware that such a plan could not be carried into effect without the complete and general concurrence of all the parties interested.....

In contemplating the late arrangements, I should have little satisfaction, if I could persuade myself that, in supporting the views and objects with which I was specially entrusted, I had felt that I was maintaining the separate interests of Great Britain.....I felt throughout that I was not supporting separate interests; that in all points our allies were equally concerned, and that, in truth, our own welfare and theirs were intimately connected and closely bound together.

I have particularly in my view the case of Holland. It was certainly important that France should not possess undivided that continuity of naval means and resources afforded by the extensive line of coast over which she had the sole control, from the Texel to the Pyrenees. I felt that if, at any time, we were to enter into a new struggle with France, we should contend at a great disadvantage with the very extensive means and resources which she would then possess, and which might be rendered most injurious to our navy.

If this division was important to ourselves, it must be as readily admitted to be of great importance also to the other powers of Europe, that a balance of the naval advantages in

each country should be kept up, and that France should not be allowed to retain those facilities for gaining a naval predominance which such a line of coast, unbroken and undivided, would afford. In discussing this point, in as far as discussion was required, I am convinced that not one of the powers imagined that I was contending for our own exclusive benefit; and, in acceding to the arrangement that was proposed, they gave their approbation, I am certain, under the impression that it was a great, if not the greatest improvement in the general system of Europe effected in modern times.....It was by no means a concession to the Prince of Orange or to Great Britain. It was a principle of policy to which, from the first moment of its mention, they listened willingly, and in which they agreed to co-operate cheerfully and cordially. They held it to be a question of equal concern to all the great powers that the territories formerly belonging to Austria, in the Netherlands, should be annexed to Holland. From the first, they regarded such a measure as necessary, in the future construction of Europe, as a means of increasing the strength of Holland, and giving her a weight in the scale of Europe, to which she had not been entitled. By this determination, the Prince of Orange will possess territories equalled by few, and certainly not surpassed by any other nation in Europe, whether we consider the people, who have ever maintained a high character in war, the wealth of the inhabitants, the resources of the soil, the facilities for commerce—many of these advantages belong more peculiarly to Holland, and are possessed by no other nation in Europe.

The people of the Netherlands will now become a nation of great importance in the general balance of power, and have great weight when properly called out. That they will be so called out by the sovereign who is now at their head, there can be no doubt; for I can assure the House, that the Sovereigns think the Prince of Orange deserving of high commendation for his conduct since his re-establishment in the supreme authority. They are of opinion that no monarch in Europe has displayed greater perseverance in his arduous duties, or has exhibited greater or more beneficial liberality towards his

subjects; they have seen by none more talent exerted to draw resources from all parts of his dominions, from all parts of that now happy country, than has been shown by the illustrious ruler who has been placed at the head of the State of Holland.

That country, they flatter themselves, is now so strong by nature, and so independent in consequence of its own natural resources, as to induce a belief that it will at all times be capable of opposing so efficient a resistance, as at least to support itself till the arrival of such aid as the natural interest of the powers would urge them to supply.

Adverting to the accession of territory assigned to Hanover, Lord Castlereagh hoped that the House would not conceive the Sovereigns to have been actuated by any undue influence or any improper sacrifices. He said that, notwithstanding the jealousy shown in this country of the connexion with Hanover, if the subject were considered fairly, it would be found that Hanover had been rather a loser than a gainer by that connexion. He paid a just tribute to the fidelity which the people had shown to their sovereign under the most trying circumstances, and expatiated on the eminent services rendered by the King's Hanoverian troops during the late war, both in the Peninsula and the North of Germany. The amount of the Legion employed in Spain was not less than from twelve to fifteen thousand men, highly disciplined, of inflexible fidelity and undaunted bravery, composing a corps of such importance as often to decide the issue of an engagement.

At the commencement of the war, Hanover and her fate were not so much connected with this country as they might have been. The augmentation of territory which she has acquired by the recent negociations has contributed to render

her connexion with Great Britain more permanent and less expensive to this country, by giving her more internal means of defence and resistance. Placed in juxtaposition with Holland, having a line of territory adjoining for the distance of 150 miles, and including the port of Embden in her new possessions, there can be no doubt that these circumstances will give her increased security and importance.....

Thus I have submitted to the House a general outline of the arrangements that have been completed, as far as it is consistent with my public duty to enter into them. I have made an exception of the south of Italy, but the House will observe that every point relating to the territories north of the Po has been decided. The arrangements respecting the future condition of Switzerland have been, I believe, by this time, completed, in concert with its deputy at Vienna, and I am assured that all the cantons admit that their welfare and interests have been duly consulted. I have detailed the important reasons, which could not fail to strike every man who thought upon the subject, for the re-establishment of the two great monarchies of Austria and Prussia; and those reasons, I flatter myself, have proved satisfactory to the House. The questions concerning the duchy of Warsaw have been decided; the re-establishment of Holland in greater strength and security has been finished; and the conformation of Hanover, and the new arrangements regarding it, have been determined by the Congress. With the exception of the settlement of the precise boundary between Bavaria and Austria, nothing remains undecided on the continent of Europe north of the Alps.

After reverting to the subject of the Slave Trade, and the negociations with Spain on that subject, Lord Castlereagh insisted, in contradiction to assertions made by Mr. Whitbread, that, in the conduct of the British Government towards that power, there had not been shown the slightest disposition to infringe that neutrality which it had engaged to observe between Spain and her revolted American colonies.

On the other hand, [he proceeded] as far as any regulations on the part of the British Government could be effectual, we feel it to be our duty to use the whole force of the Government to keep up that neutrality, and to prevent the supply of arms to the insurgent colonies; neither did we lend ourselves to any act tending to impair the integrity of the Spanish monarchy. By such conduct, we should be setting ourselves up for judges between sovereigns and subjects, when in truth we had no right to interfere. Whatever may be the result, and whatever may be the wishes of the honourable gentleman for the independence of the American colonies, the House will be sensible, I am persuaded, that, instead of interfering on either side, it is much better to allow a sovereign and his subjects to settle their own differences, and to make their own arrangements. Be the value of the honourable member's remarks on general subjects what it may, never shall I respect opinions given for the encouragement of subjects in rebellion against their lawful sovereign, and I never shall hear them without thinking that the person delivering them travels far beyond that duty which, as a good subject, he owes to his own sovereign.....

Upon the whole view of the foreign relations of this country, as they have been settled at the Congress, I cannot help thinking that Parliament will contemplate with satisfaction those important arrangements. By them, we have obtained many advantages, and not the least, in which we participate with all Europe, is that we are delivered from the danger which might arise from the predominating power of France. The wise measures adopted for this purpose have not degraded France from the high station which she ought to hold among the nations, while they have given to others additional power and security..... Taking, therefore, into view the general state of our relations abroad, even separating our policy and interests from those of the rest of Europe, I trust that the House will see that they have been discussed and determined in a temper productive of the best consequences; and that it will feel that there is nothing left for this country in good sense or reason to wish for but a continuance of the blessings

of peace, and a perseverance in that system by which they have been procured.

The honourable member, before he sat down, called the attention of the House to what is passing in an adjacent country. Whatever steps Great Britain may take, upon the issue of the contest which has thus unexpectedly been forced upon us depend all those blessings of peace, and all those advantages of arrangement, of which I have been speaking. Where is the man who can lay his hand upon his heart and say that, if the power of Buonaparte is re-established in France, any of those blessings which Europe was about to enjoy can be realized? Who will say, if he again rules the destinies of France, that Europe can be tranquil, secure, or independent? I consider that in the question now at issue in France is involved the more vital question, whether the world can return to that moral system by which the happiness and the interests of mankind were to be upheld, or whether we shall remain, as we have been during the last twenty years, under the necessity of maintaining a system of military policy; whether Europe shall in future present the spectacle of an assemblage of pacific or of armed nations. Shall the nations of the world take up arms to destroy each other, or lay them down to promote each other's happiness? These are the questions to be decided by the result of the present contest in France,—questions of the deepest interest; for if, indeed, the authority of Buonaparte be restored, who can doubt that with him will be restored also that destructive military power?—If that military power be re-established in France, where, let me ask, must we look for peace and prosperity, unless we conquer it with our swords?

If it shall be necessary for Britain to return to that system which we have been so long and so painfully pursuing—if we must, at the moment of expected ease, again submit to the toils of war, and re-establish a military force necessary for our security—it will, doubtless, as on former occasions, be tempered by the wholesome checks of the British constitution. In this country, the military force must always be comparatively subordinate to the civil power, and our military institutions must always be inferior to our civil establishments: but, if Buona-

parte prove successful, we must look forward to becoming again a military people; while that man keeps up in France his military resources, a condition of defence by military power also can alone give security to Europe.

Let this country then, let France herself, reflect that upon the result of this new struggle—upon the management of which, or the part which this nation must take, I say nothing at present—must depend all our happiness or all our calamities. Upon the success of the family of Bourbon—who in my judgment have done for France the greatest acts of favour that a people could receive, but more especially that act of grace by which peace, so long banished, was restored to her—depends the important question for this country, whether we shall return to that natural and happy state of peace, or whether we shall continue the struggle against the military power of France, under the artificial system which such a contest has heretofore rendered, and would again render, necessary. Upon this great question there can be, I am sure, but one feeling; and I trust that Providence, conducting us through the remainder of the task which we may have to perform, will ordain only one result.....

Upon the whole, I am persuaded that the House will perceive that, in the deliberations of the Congress, a great deal has been accomplished: indeed, for my own part, I know that nothing connected with the important and general interests of Europe has been omitted. With the pledge of mutual support which the Sovereigns will be prepared to give to each other, I know of nothing that can interrupt the general tranquillity of Europe, if Buonaparte be not allowed to infringe upon it. In conclusion, I feel satisfied that the House and the country will think with me, that never before was so much accomplished for Europe, and that we never had in our history a fairer prospect of bright days of continued happiness than at the present moment, if they be not clouded by new and unforeseen calamity.

This speech, we are told, in numerous passages, and particularly at the conclusion, drew enthusiastic and long continued cheers from all parts of the House;

and it is deeply to be deplored that in after-years the pledge of mutual support has been abandoned: whereas, if Lord Castlereagh's policy had been pursued, it would have probably produced far other results than those which have afflicted Europe.

Immediately on his arrival in England, Lord Castlereagh resumed the business of his department; and he replied, with his accustomed talent, to the multifarious questions and the keen attacks on the subject of his late important mission to the Congress, and of the escape of Buonaparte from the isle of Elba. Among other important particulars, he communicated his own views respecting his disapproval of the Treaty of Fontainebleau; and on the 7th of April, 1815, he observed in the House of Commons, that the preparations for leaving Elba had been so sudden and unexpected, that General Bertrand, who was supposed to be in the confidence of Napoleon, was not aware of his intention on the preceding day; that he had established such an etiquette, that Colonel Campbell, who was commissioned by the Allied Sovereigns to escort him to Elba and to watch his motions there, could not see him but on certain occasions; probably, for the purpose of concealing his departure. In the sitting of the 28th of April, in ridicule of the feigned moderation of Buonaparte, and his condescension for a certain party, he added,

> Can it be supposed that, if he were again at the head of 400,000 soldiers, he would feel any scruple to get rid of a Fouché or a Lucien, if they stood in the way of his designs? No one will dare to say that his return is an act of the French nation. No one will deny that this last revolution is a purely military act. The army will probably never be in a condition

to render its old master the same services as it could have done under other circumstances. The French nation is now reduced to silence by the bayonet. At any rate, whatever difference of opinion there may be on the great question, whether it would be more prudent to allow the power which at this moment governs to subsist, or to stifle it in its birth, it is evidently a duty of the utmost necessity to take measures of precaution.

On the 8th of April, Lord Castlereagh, writing to Caulaincourt, who had been sent to London as ambassador from Buonaparte, acknowledged the receipt of the letters addressed to him by the latter, adding, that the Prince Regent had refused to receive the letters of Napoleon, and had ordered those letters to be transmitted to the Congress; and this was actually done the same day, together with a despatch to the Earl of Clancarty. Buonaparte showed his spleen at this treatment, by the insertion of an article in the *Moniteur* of the 24th of the same month, under the head of London, relating that the populace had furiously broken into Lord Castlereagh's house, because he had declared himself against peace; though there was not a particle of truth in this assertion.

About this time, Lord Castlereagh addressed a note to Prince Metternich, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the interpretation given to the Treaty of the 25th of March, by the British Government, was conformable to the views of the Emperor of Austria; to which an affirmative answer was returned. As soon as the communication of the Treaty to the House of Commons and the resolution of the Allied Sovereigns had left the Opposition no further room for doubt, the journals of that party assailed Lord Castlereagh

with the bitterest sarcasms. In spite, however, of all the efforts of the Opposition, the Administration obtained the adoption of the most vigorous measures, and the grant of the most powerful succours, which finally led to the glorious events, that every enlightened person had foreseen.

Lord Castlereagh set out for Brussels in the first days of July; and the results of the battle of Waterloo led him at once to Paris, where he remained for two months, negociating with the Cabinets of the Tuileries and of the other Allied Powers. One of the most important points of those negociations, and one in which Lord Castlereagh had the greatest share, was the restitution of the works of art collected by the plunder of Europe in the public galleries and museums of Paris. The Pope, on receiving those inestimable treasures, wrung from his predecessor, sent copies of them to the Prince Regent, in token of his gratitude, and, at the same time, presents of considerable value to Lord Castlereagh, among which were four splendid large rosso-antiquo figures of Victory, with palm branches in their hands:[1] various other testimonials of regard and esteem were also presented to him by the Sovereigns of Europe.

The negociations now led to the second Treaty of Paris, and to that general peace which the Nations of Europe have since so happily enjoyed. If recent events in France appear to have rendered its continuance much longer somewhat problematical, we trust that, notwithstanding the volatile and restless disposi-

[1] These figures are now at Holdernesse House.

tion of the people of that country, the recollection of the sacrifices and humiliations inflicted upon them on this occasion may prove powerful enough to deter them from raising, for the third time, the retributive indignation of banded Europe.

With a strong and very natural feeling against the lawless policy of Napoleon, Lord Castlereagh had, in 1814, proclaimed the principle, that the safety of Europe was inseparably connected with the restoration of the House of Bourbon; and an equally natural distrust of France, abundantly justified by late occurrences there, caused him to conceive an opinion, that even the Treaty of 1815 had left her too powerful. This impression he showed also at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818. Though not personally present at Laybach, the transactions there being left to his brother, Lord Stewart, as well as those of Troppau, he addressed a circular letter, bearing the date of January 19, 1821, to all the British Embassies, which is an important document in the history of the law of intervention. Consistently following at home that vigorous line of policy pursued by Mr. Pitt, Lord Castlereagh resorted to decisive measures for repressing the lawless outrages to which the working classes, suffering under the pressure of the revulsion occasioned by the return from a state of war to that of peace, were incited by unprincipled demagogues. This course, as it may be well imagined, served only to increase a certain degree of unpopularity with the multitude, and to sharpen the malice and the calumnies of his political adversaries; but he per-

sisted in it, with a perseverance, which, had it been shown in later times, would (I must be permitted to believe) have crushed those early demonstrations of Radical Reformers, of Chartists, of Repealers, and those all but treasonable purposes which have threatened the Empire with civil war and dismemberment.

The debate on the State of the Nation, which almost closed the season of 1817, was memorable for being, I believe, the last material discussion in public on the Irish administration of Lord Castlereagh. In the discussion which, a few weeks before, occurred, on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Sir Francis Burdett alluded to the state of Ireland, under the government of Lord Castlereagh, and proceeded to read to the House an affidavit of one of the sufferers in 1798. As soon as this affidavit was read, the Ministerial side of the House became so impatient, that the Honourable Baronet was obliged to turn to other topics. Lord Castlereagh did not speak on this occasion.

Mr. Brougham opened the debate on the State of the Nation, and, in the course of his speech, in allusion to Lord Castlereagh, insinuated that he was privy to some of the scenes of horror that took place in Ireland; and added, that a man who had been practising the torture on men had obtained a bill of indemnity for all transactions, of which such cruelty had formed a part.

Lord Castlereagh repelled the attack with his usual calmness and spirit, saying, that Mr. Brougham's description of alleged cruelties, practised during the administration in Ireland, of which he (Lord Castle-

reagh) had been a member, ought long since to have been made the foundation of an impeachment, if such statements were believed to be true, and not have been reserved to be brought forward in a strain of malignant and libellous insinuation, on the last day of a Session. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Bennett followed. They reiterated the insinuations, and referred to the affidavits which had been collected in Ireland by the notorious Peter Finnerty, but which he was not permitted to read, in mitigation of punishment for libel. Lord Castlereagh again claimed the attention of the House. He said:—

With respect to the facts stated in these affidavits, it has been alleged that I smiled at their recital. I did, indeed, smile at their imputation; for, though I felt it to be one most abhorrent to my nature, it is also one so remote from truth, that I treat it only with contempt. But, while I vindicate the Irish Government against the charge of inflicting torture to obtain truth, I must, at the same time, say, that I have not been present at any of the punishments in question. I have never, in the course of my life, seen any man flogged, except a soldier in my own militia regiment.

A remark from Mr. Canning, in the course of an admirable speech, in the same debate, is not the least interesting part of the proceedings. He said:—

What is the situation of the noble Lord, compared with that of his unnamed accusers? Men who have shared in repeated pardons, and hid their degraded heads under a general amnesty, now advance to revile the individual to whom they owe their despicable lives! A pardoned traitor, a forgotten incendiary, a wretch who has escaped the gallows, and screened himself in humble safety only by the clemency of the Noble Lord, is now to be produced as the chief witness for his convic-

tion! If the Legislature has consented to bury in darkness the crimes of rebellion, is it too much that rebels, after twenty years, should forgive the crime of being forgiven?

In the year 1821, on the decease of his father, Lord Castlereagh became Marquess of Londonderry. The political horizon at this time had become overcast: a Congress was to be held at Vienna and Verona, on the affairs of Spain; the insurrection of Greece had also rendered the position of England between Russia and the Porte very ticklish and difficult; and the continuance of disturbances in Ireland excited uneasiness. Under these circumstances, the strong mind of Lord Londonderry, harassed by parliamentary warfare, and worn out by incessant toil, began to break down.

His attention to official duties was always unremitting. Towards the end of his life, he united in his person the superintendence of the Home Department with that of Foreign Affairs. In the first half of 1822, the state of Europe, to which I have just adverted, demanded incessant communications with different Courts, but no draft of any public despatch ever emanated from the Foreign Office not written by himself. This incessant labour not merely occupied but overtaxed his time, while his mind was harassed by the anxieties and fatigues of a severe Parliamentary campaign, in which he bore the overwhelming burden.

The unremitting toil began to produce a visible effect on his health and spirits. Towards the end of the Session, as the work grew lighter, his mind, (kept up thus far by the very excitement,) exhibited symptoms of that lassitude which always follows excessive exertion; and his particular friends became

solicitous that change of scene and occupation should be resorted to for the removal of that depression under which he evidently began to labour. It had been arranged that he should again represent this country at a Congress about to be held on various important affairs, and especially as to Spain; and the day for his departure was fixed. Although the duties of such a mission would naturally have been of great delicacy and importance, yet, on the whole, Lord Londonderry looked forward to the journey as likely, in the first instance, to afford him relief and recreation; and one of the earliest symptoms of illness was the nervous fear that some imaginary indisposition might prevent his setting out.

Notwithstanding a change, which certainly was now remarked in his manner and temper, no one apprehended that his mind was in any way affected. The King was the first to express his fears and suspicions that something of this kind had taken place. On the 9th of August, Lord Londonderry waited upon his Majesty, preparatory to his departure for Scotland; and the King was so struck by the unusual manner in which he conversed during this audience, that he wrote to Lord Liverpool, communicating his apprehensions and the grounds for them, and urging the necessity of precaution and of immediate medical advice.

On the same day, Lord Londonderry had a conversation with the Duke of Wellington, who, under the influence of precisely the same impression as that of the King, wrote immediately to Lord Londonderry's physician, recommending him to call upon him with-

out delay, but not to give him room to surmise in what manner he had been sent. In compliance with the advice of his physician, he went that evening to his seat at North Cray, in Kent, whither the doctor followed him on the next day, and remained there over Sunday in attendance. Early on Monday morning, he was hastily summoned to Lord Londonderry, who was in his dressing-room; but, before he could reach it, his patient had committed the fatal act, and life was almost immediately extinct.

Vain would be the attempt, by my feeble pen, to describe the effect of this sudden and deplorable calamity, not only upon all the members of his family, by whom he was not merely beloved but adored, especially upon Lady Londonderry, as well as upon his household, and upon all living around his residence. At the Coroner's Inquest, abundant evidence of mental derangement was offered; and to that cause alone the Jury unanimously attributed this catastrophe.

It may be interesting here, and grateful to my own feelings, and certainly not improper, to annex the letter which I received while at my official post as Ambassador at Vienna from the Duke of Wellington, communicating to me the dreadful intelligence.

August 21, 1822.

My dear Charles—I do not trouble you to tell you that of which I am certain you are convinced—my heartfelt grief for the deplorable event which has recently occurred here; but I would not allow the post to go to Vienna, with the account that the King has desired that I should be sent there, without taking a few lines from myself.

You will have seen that I had witnessed the melancholy

state of mind which was the cause of the catastrophe. I saw him after he had been with the King on the 9th inst., to whom he had likewise exposed it: but, fearing that he would not send for his physician, I considered it my duty to go to him, and, not finding him, to write to him, which, considering what has since passed, was a fortunate circumstance.

You will readily believe what a consternation this deplorable event has occasioned here. The funeral was attended by every person in London of any mark or distinction of all parties, and the crowds in the streets behaved respectfully and creditably.

God bless you, my dear Charles! Pray remember me to Lady C. and Lady Stewart,

And believe me ever yours most affectionately,

WELLINGTON.

The remains of Lord Londonderry were interred in Westminster Abbey, followed from his house in Saint James's Square by an immense *cortège;* and, though the funeral was considered private, it was nevertheless attended by all the carriages of Ministers, Foreign Ambassadors, and persons of the highest distinction in London.

After the fatal event, the cause of many singularities of conduct, for which those who witnessed them were unable to account at the time, was but too fully explained. One of these circumstances, which occurred previously to the prorogation of Parliament, was an awkward forgetfulness of an appointment with M. de Chateaubriand, the French Ambassador. Numerous similar anecdotes might be related of him, but they are unworthy of minute detail.

It is gratifying to observe in families the operation of the force of example, to see the virtues of humanity,

philanthropy, and beneficence, descending like heir-looms from sire to son, and shedding comforts upon all around. Of these virtues, the first Marquess of Londonderry, who died in 1821, may be called, even though his own son affirms it, a bright example and an illustrious pattern. In domestic life, he benefitted society by an example of pure morals and a zealous discharge of religious duties. In an age when such virtues do not predominate, the exact performance of them throughout a long life must necessarily, from his station, have had the most beneficial influence. No man appeared more justly to appreciate the blessings which he enjoyed, or to be more thankful for them to the Giver of all Good.

Among the greatest of these, was that perfect family concord which embellished the domestic circle, and without which everything else would have been of little avail. No father ever beheld his offspring with greater delight, or was held by them in higher veneration, and his eldest son constituted the chief pride and joy of his latter days. As a country gentleman, both before and after his elevation to the peerage, he fixed his residence in his own County of Down, in Ireland, in the bosom of his tenantry. There, in times of public distress, his judicious and munificent plans for relieving the necessities of his tenants displayed the importance of a resident landlord in the strongest colours.

In seasons of scarcity, he ordered provisions to be imported from the cheapest marts, and delivered at very reduced prices, and in small quantities, at New-

townards, his own town, and near to his residence. The produce of his mills was brought forward on the same occasions. His contributions to the various charities which engaged his benevolence were very considerable. To the weekly collection alone in the Church, and the Presbyterian Meeting House, of which latter he was a constant attendant, he is believed to have contributed to the amount of between £200 and £250 yearly; and, judging from this regard to the wants of the lowest classes of society, the entire range of his charities and acts of benevolence must have been very extensive.

In order to give work to the labouring poor, he kept an extra number regularly employed in his grounds. When, about two years before his death, the leases of some of his farms had expired, they were valued by an intelligent resident farmer, and renewals cheerfully taken at the valuations declared. Not long afterwards, prompted by the benevolent impulse of his own heart, he ordered the leases to be cancelled, and new ones substituted at greatly reduced rents, to the diminution of rent-roll, in a small part only of his estates in the Ards, amounting yearly to £900. He established with more security than even his predecessors the invaluable understanding of Tenant Right between him and his farmers, to which the extraordinary prosperity of the Irish estates up to these late troublesome times is virtually owing.

As a senator, his conduct was without blemish. In the several parliaments in which he sat as a representative of the people, his vote was, without excep-

tion, directed by integrity, and that scrupulous sense of duty, by which it was the habit of his life to weigh even the minutest actions. It was observed that, of the generation to which he belonged, it would be scarcely possible to name three closer parallels than Sir George Saville, Mr. Brownlow, and Mr. Stewart. In purity of principle, they were models in their respective situations. Such was the first Marquess of Londonderry, as portrayed without partiality by an affectionate son. We shall hereafter see how far his example is likely to have exercised any influence on the character of the second.

The few following anecdotes of the private life of the latter, perhaps trivial in their nature, and collected chiefly from various sources, (all early documents and references, as I shall have to relate presently, having been lost) will facilitate such an estimate.

Before he left Ireland, with that kind attention which he always paid to his father's tenants, he built houses for their accommodation in the Barony of Castlereagh—from which he derived his title—and established an annual fair for horses and cattle, with rewards for the best animals shown: this fair is now numerously attended. From a very wretched place, Castlereagh became a respectable village, consisting of about a hundred neat houses, and as many cottages; and the inhabitants enjoy a state of comfort which they never hoped for or expected. He next contributed to build the neat church on the hill near the town; and, free from all religious prejudices, he generously presented the Roman Catholic inhabi-

tants with one hundred pounds towards finishing their chapel. In the town of Portaferry, he had a number of pensioners, to whom he gave small sums annually. These traits of character are noted, inasmuch as political animosity, in some cases, would not give him credit for possessing or practising a single private virtue. In his family, he was an excellent and kind master, and was beloved by all his servants; and, though his name never ostentatiously appeared, no man gave more away in private acts of charity.

When first leaving Mount Stewart for Dublin, he embarked, in a small schooner, at the pier of Portaferry; he was much affected, and departed amidst the lamentations of the poor, who prayed fervently for his speedy return. When the schooner in which he had sailed had accomplished about half her voyage, a storm arose; one of the masts was carried away by the force of the gale, and a man swept overboard —he sank to rise no more. Another would have shared the same fate; but Lord Castlereagh, who had been animating the men by his words and personal example, fearlessly sprang into the chains, to which the shrouds are fastened, and, seizing him by the collar of his jacket, dragged him on board at the risk of his own life. This inspired the crew with confidence; and they exerted themselves so strenuously, that in a few hours they rigged a jury-mast, and at daybreak made shift to get safe into the harbour of Castletown, in the Isle of Man. Here Lord Castlereagh landed, and took up his residence with Lord Henry Murray. A fever was the consequence

of the exertions which he had used, in the dangers from which he had so happily escaped, and he was confined to his bed for weeks. On his recovery, Lord Castlereagh left the Isle of Man, and, to the great joy of his friends, arrived safe in Dublin: he had been given up for lost, as, out of five vessels which sailed from Strangford, three foundered in the tempest, with all their crews.

It was a troublesome time when he arrived in Dublin; the embers of rebellion still smouldered, and men's minds were in that feverish state which it required all the address of ministers to bring to a moderate degree of quiet. The high office which Lord Castlereagh soon held threw great responsibility on his shoulders, but he proved himself capable of bearing the burden. After the political labours in which he had been engaged, from 1798 until carrying the question of the Union, he abandoned the Castle of Dublin, and the Secretary's Lodge in the Phœnix Park, for a small house at Dundrum, in the County of Wicklow.

He was fond of field sports, and frequently beat up the Wicklow Hills, as far as the house of Counsellor Colback, which, "perched on high like an eagle's nest," looks over the capital. In these sports he was very successful, and was always proverbial for being a remarkably good shot. Returning one evening in July from the mountains, he was accosted by two men, who inquired the hour; at the same instant one of them seized the double-barrelled fowling-piece which Lord Castlereagh was carrying. The latter drew a pistol from his pocket, and shot his assailant,

who immediately fell. A second pistol having missed fire, another ruffian, springing out from an adjacent ditch, rushed, together with the fellow who was still unhurt, upon his Lordship, who at once began to retreat. At this moment a person, jumping over the gate which impeded his approach, fired a pistol at one of the robbers, and, seizing him instantly by the collar, he, with Lord Castlereagh's assistance, secured this man, while the other made the best use of his time in running off as fast as possible: and to this movement his opponents did not think proper to offer any obstruction. The fellow who had wrested the gun from Lord Castlereagh had received a ball in his neck: he was raised from the ground, and his hands, as well as those of his comrade, having been tied behind, their captors conveyed them to Dundrum, where their wounds were dressed. These offenders were found to belong to the Liberty of Dublin; and, having casually seen Lord Castlereagh change a two-guinea note at a small public-house, they had determined to commit the above-mentioned daring assault, in order to effect the robbery of their proposed victim. It turned out that the person who appeared so opportunely to aid Lord Castlereagh was Mr. Jennings, a lieutenant in the Navy, then on half-pay. He was returning from a visit, when he had the happiness to rescue so valuable a life from the murderers' hands.

Jennings was a brave officer, and well worthy of notice, and Lord Castlereagh afterwards presented him with a commission, as commander of the Rose

cutter, of 14 guns, and gave him £100, for outfit. Mr. Jennings held his command for many years, with honour and profit; and then retired to the enjoyment of a competence at Balbriggan.

As for the men who attempted to rob and murder him, Lord Castlereagh merely reprimanded them, and sent them on board the tender, to expiate their offences by serving their country. These occurrences in the life of any man would do credit; and they show Lord Castlereagh to have been possessed of a noble, kind, and generous heart. His residence at Dundrum was not of long duration. His office obliged him to be constant in his attendance at the Castle; so that, after the expiration of a year, he returned to Dublin.

Before Lord Castlereagh (on the invitation of Mr. Pitt and his English friends) left Ireland, to transfer his exertions to a higher sphere, he paid a visit to Mount Stewart. His father, who never stirred from the precincts of his own estates, had not seen him for two years, and was of course delighted to behold him return covered with honours, earned by his services. He was not accompanied by Lady Castlereagh, on account of her delicate state of health. Great were the rejoicings upon this occasion, and, need it be added, that the poor as well as the rich were made partakers in the festivities.

The scenes of early youth are rendered dearer by absence; and, among these, Lord Castlereagh must have revisited, with peculiar interest, his island in Lough Strangford, and the Temple of the Winds, the memorial of his deliverance from imminent death.

The Chapel of Strangford was in ruins, and the Catholics assembled for public worship in an old house. Lord Castlereagh ordered that a suitable place for their devotions should be erected, and this was carried into effect upon a spot which is called the Rocky Point. It rose, a structure fair to the eye, and pleasing to the followers of that faith. The sum which it cost him was £500: and, when it is considered that this was the gift of a Protestant to those who deemed him a heretic, out of the pale of salvation, it affords an early proof how strong his feelings were for religious liberty.

The Belfast Academy, which attained such eminence under the management of the learned Dr. Bruce, the Rev. Hamilton Drummond, and others, was indebted to Lord Castlereagh for its first prosperity; he promoted its interests zealously with his friends and connexions, protected it by his patronage, and supported it by his bounty. Several papers, recommending it as a national concern, were written by him, and introduced into the magazine called the "Belfast Athenæum."

Lord Castlereagh was a munificent patron of literary talent, and particularly of that of his own country. The collection of Irish Melodies, made by the able Mr. Bunting of Belfast, from the ancient bards of Ireland, was undertaken at his suggestion; and the translations from Carolan were moulded into their present shape by his masterly hand.

Lord Castlereagh was the means of establishing in Dublin a "Gaelic Society," the object of which was to encourage writers in the ancient Erse, and

translations from scarce works in verse and prose. This Society went on well for some time; and a volume of their proceedings was printed, highly creditable to all who had contributed towards it. Theophilus O'Hannegan was the Secretary, a man who was quite a genius, and a scholar of unrivalled attainments, but who possessed not an atom of discretion. The removal of Lord Castlereagh to England withdrew his attention from this local institution, and it was, in consequence, discontinued. The last service he rendered it was releasing poor O'Hannegan from the Sheriff's, where he was confined for a considerable debt.

Upon a certain occasion, as Lord Castlereagh was passing slowly and thoughtfully from an interview with His Majesty (George IV.) at Carlton House, to his own residence in St. James's Square, he was met by an Irish labourer, who, with his hod reversed, seemed as if prepared to attend the funeral of his own hopes. "Long life to your honour!" said Pat, in a peculiarly melancholy tone. Lord C. raised his eye. Pat took off his apology for a hat, made his bow, and repeated, "Musha, then, long life to your Honour's Lordship!"

There was something singular in the man's appearance and address; and Lord Castlereagh, half-hesitating, half-advancing, fixed his eyes upon him with a kindliness of look, which induced Pat to go on: "God be with the days, your Honour, when you used to be fishing in the Lough!"—"What Lough, my good fellow?"—"Lough Foyle, to be sure, your Honour." "Why, were you ever there?"—"May be I wasn't, plase your Honour, when I used to help to push your

honour's boat off, and when, may God for ever bless you for it! wonst (once) when I tumbled in, neck and crop, you pulled me out by the nape of the neck. Och! faith, I remember it," added the poor fellow with a smile; "and if it hadn't been for your Honour's Lordship, I'd have been as dead as a herring, sure enough!"—"Ay, well, what's your name?"—"Bill Brady, to be sure."—"Oh, I remember something about you; but what brought you here?"—"Och! like many others, I came to seek my fortune, but the devil a much luck I have had yet."—"Are you in employment?"—"No, faith, I am not; but I'm promised a job next Monday, plase God."—"Well, Bill, I am always glad to see my old acquaintance, and here is something to drink success to olden times," handing poor Pat a couple of sovereigns. Lord Castlereagh then hastened on; while Pat kept his hand open, alternately looking at the sovereigns and at the donor; the tear of gratitude at length trickled down his lime-coloured cheek, and, after a moment taken to suppress the swelling of his surcharged heart, he shouldered his hod, and in a sort of ecstacy exclaimed, as he turned away, "Well, you're the ould thing, after all!"

Such was the man who has been by his enemies accused of a cold calculating heart, and want of sympathy for the sufferings of his fellow-creatures! Many more incidents of a like character with the above might be recorded.

In his house, he was never heard to murmur at any thing, nor was he ever known to speak in a harsh or hasty manner to any of his servants, whom he had

not changed for years. He was also of abstemious habits, often tasting of but few dishes, and taking moderately of wine. Although neat and nice in his apparel, he disliked giving servants trouble, and generally, except on any particular occasion, dressed himself without assistance. When in the country, and without company, he always retired early to his library, where he usually remained two or three hours, and retired to bed without supper. His usual hour for rising was seven, and in summer, five in the morning, never omitting to walk before breakfast when the weather admitted of it. He was fond of planting, pruning, and grafting with his own hands, and his parterre of native and exotic flowers at Cray Farm was choice, though not extensive.

Political despatches which daily arrived were disposed of by him with the utmost order, exactness, and regularity, and his visitors scarcely missed his company whilst he attended to them. At public worship, he was a regular attendant, and had prayers read in his family once every day, sometimes in the morning, but oftener in the evening. Field sports he abandoned long before his death; but he had a kennel of pointers and greyhounds. His ear for music was excellent, and, though an indifferent player on the violoncello, he would often sit down and take part in a concerto, and join in any music that was going on.

He was very tenacious of all his early friendships: the Earl of Bristol and the late Mr. Holford were the most dear to him. His mind was much fixed on

putting upon record the history of the Union and the events which immediately preceded it—in fact, of his own administration in Ireland. It was a project which I know he had very much at heart, and it was often talked of to some gentlemen of reputation, as men of letters in Ireland. One of these, a particular friend of Lord Castlereagh's, declined the undertaking, because he could not conscientiously, and as he thought satisfactorily, execute it in the sense of the minister —and yet their friendship continued uninterrupted.

He spoke French correctly, with a slow and measured accent. His appearance in public, when in Paris in 1815, was quite unostentatious and simple. In the morning, and sometimes in the evening also, he was seen walking in the crowd, with Lady Castlereagh, on the terrace, or in one of the alleys of the Tuileries. The French were doubly astounded at the simplicity of his appearance, and at the unfashionable singularity of such a promenade, *tête-à-tête* with *his wife*.

His good humour was so predominant, that he never refused his assistance to promote cheerfulness; nor was he ever more pleased than when his youthful friends, encouraged by his smiles, forgot who he was, and, throwing off all constraint, seemed as much "at home" with him as if he had been their constant companion. Thus he succeeded, without effort, but merely by pursuing the bent of his mild and amiable disposition, to be happy himself, and to render all happy around him.

In the latter years of his life, although he suffered from gout, yet he never uttered complaint or mur-

mur. It was a common saying of his, to any one labouring under misfortune, "Patience, and all will be well." It was a precept which he practically illustrated by example in every trial of accident or illness. One unfortunate event, evincing his coolness and courage, occurred at North Cray. Lady Londonderry had a peculiar and not a praiseworthy partiality for large mastiffs; and his entire good nature and passiveness to her pursuits induced him to bear with these savage companions. On one occasion, when two of the animals were engaged in a furious combat, Lord Castlereagh, in spite of all hindrance and piteous cries, rushed between them to part the enraged brutes, in succeeding in which his hands and arm were severely lacerated. From these wounds he suffered long; but bore the pain and the disagreeable reflections which such injuries naturally produce with his usual patience.

In stature he was nearly six feet, and his manners were perfect, his features commanding. His appearance when full dressed was particularly graceful, and at the coronation of George IV. he was remarked for the graceful dignity of his mien and manner, which, as I have heard it more than once observed, might well have caused him, when in the robes of the Garter, to be mistaken for the Sovereign. Although a courtier, yet in private life no man could be less assuming, and his affability at once dissipated that timidity which intercourse with high rank sometimes produces.

After his decease, an official communication was made to his servants, stating that he had left a will, wherein he had made provision for every person in

his establishment, even to the lowest helper in the stables—a circumstance perfectly in unison with the whole tenour of his private life.

The report that Lord Londonderry's death had been caused in some measure by gout is not, I think, altogether unfounded. During the last fortnight or three weeks of the session of Parliament immediately preceding his decease, he laboured under attacks of this complaint. When he felt the first symptoms of it, he greatly apprehended that, if it were not speedily repressed, the disease might so increase as to prevent his attendance in the House of Commons, thereby causing a delay of public business, a still further protraction of the Session, with consequent inconvenience to his Majesty in visiting Scotland, and to himself in attending Congress. In order to prevent these disagreeable results, Lord Castlereagh's physician prescribed some medicines for him, with the view of lowering his system, and thus keeping down the violence of the complaint. The medicines thus prescribed had the intended effect in one particular; but, in reducing his bodily habit, they unfortunately also brought on a depression of spirits, to the influence of which an overloaded and perplexed mind but too readily yielded. In this manner, a nervous fever was induced, which the excitement produced by the prorogation of Parliament for the moment counteracted; but, when that had subsided, the lowness rapidly increased, and on the Friday before his death had made considerable inroads on physical and mental powers, which naturally were of great strength. So much was Lord

Londonderry's frame shaken on that day, that the official documents which he wrote and subscribed while in town were scarcely legible to those who for years had been daily accustomed to his handwriting. The characters in these despatches were straggling, and evidently traced by a tremulous, enfeebled hand, which made the manuscripts appear to be those of a decrepit, worn-out old man, whereas, Lord Londonderry's writing was usually remarkable for its neatness.

With respect to his habits of business in his own peculiar department, his labours were unremitting. When in town, he generally went to the Foreign Office about eleven in the forenoon, and remained there till two or three, and often later, as circumstances required. His conduct to all persons under him was tempered with extraordinary mildness,—being so affectionate and gentlemanlike, that, without an exception, every one connected with the Foreign Department felt and deplored his death. He laid it down as a principle, and followed it himself implicitly, that the head of every public office was bound in duty to protect and advise all persons subordinate to him. Advice he freely and constantly gave, where he thought it was necessary, or would be useful; and, whenever it happened that he had occasion to reprove, he performed that ungracious task so considerately and kindly, that he never failed to reform the individual, to whom, at the same time, he endeared himself.

Of the protection which he afforded to all who served under him, the following instance will give a just notion. During the whole period that our paper

money was depreciated below gold, our consuls and other representatives in foreign countries were paid no more by the Treasury than their nominal salaries, allowances, &c., in the paper money of the day. In having those sums remitted to them, the rate of exchange was so much against this country, that they were frequently great losers, receiving in specie only a portion of their just emolument. Lord Londonderry often remonstrated with the Treasury upon the hardship of the case, but was always met by this argument, that, if compensation were allowed for those losses, it would be an admission that the Bank of England notes were depreciated, in contradiction to the official declaration of Ministers. The Treasury also warned the auditor of public accounts against such claims, and, in short, effectually resisted them, so far as it was possible. His Lordship, however, was determined that his official agents should not suffer, and accordingly made good their deficiencies in many cases of hardship.

It is peculiarly gratifying to remark in the Correspondence the expression of the warm feelings of friendship and affection—I might almost say endearment—entertained for him, not only by all those gentlemen who looked up to him as their official chief, but also by persons whose still higher diplomatic situations placed them within the sphere of his influence. For evidences of such sentiments and dispositions I need merely refer to the letters of Mr. Cooke, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Knox, and subjoin a short passage from one written by the representative of his Majesty

at the Court of the Netherlands. In February, 1820, just after the accession of George IV., when a change of administration appeared imminent, Lord Clancarty writes:

"I hope you cannot imagine that any part of the anxiety experienced by me could have arisen from the slightest doubt what should be the course of my own conduct; or that, after having derived every political advantage which I enjoy immediately from your Lordship, with the addition thereto of some and no very mean degree of public consideration, I should now, at an advanced time of life, be guilty of the folly of absolutely sacrificing this last, by separating my political interests from those of *my chief*—and this for the miserable and precarious gratification of perhaps a few months' longer enjoyment of an office, deprived, as it would then be, in the case supposed, of its principal attraction.....

"One expression in your letter I would fain think unguarded, namely, that during the late Crisis, 'you considered yourself only as my Chief *ad interim*,' as if you would not still have continued my *Chief* equally out of as in power—or, as if, after having gone through now somewhat a long course of political life under your *Chieftainship*, reaping every possible benefit—far, very far beyond expectation from the connexion, the advantages of which moreover were all one side—I could now consent, except indeed *ad interim*, to act under any other Chief!"

The family means were not considerable, and Lord

Castlereagh was necessarily subject, from his official appointment, to greater expenses than any other minister. He chiefly had to entertain the ambassadors from foreign powers in this country, and frequently to invite them to official dinners, and to maintain the dignity and rank of the nation, in the sumptuousness of those entertainments.

To the public character of Lord Londonderry, testimony so emphatic and so honourable is borne by witnesses the most illustrious for rank and talents in the letters which I shall presently lay before the public, that I shall content myself with subjoining the following tribute, paid to his memory by an eloquent public writer.

With respect to his public character, all admit his talents to have been of a high order, and his industry in the discharge of his official duties unremitting. Party animosity may question the wisdom of measures in which he was a principal actor, to save its own consistency; but it dares not breathe a doubt of his integrity and honour. His reputation as a Minister is, however, above the reach of both friends and enemies. He was one of the leaders of that Ministry which preserved the country from being subjugated by a power which subjugated all the rest of Europe, which fought the country against combined Europe and triumphed, and which wrenched the sceptre of dominion from the desolating principles that the French Revolution spread through the world, and restored it to religion and honesty.

If to have preserved the faith and liberties of England from destruction, to have raised her to the most magnificent point of greatness, to have liberated a quarter of the globe from a despotism which bowed down both body and soul, and to have placed the world again under the control of natural law and just principles, be transcendent fame, such fame belongs to this Ministry, and, of all its members, it belongs to none more than to the Marquess of Londonderry.

During a great part of the year, he toiled frequently for twelve or fourteen hours per day at the most exhausting of all kinds of labour, for a salary, which, unaided by private fortune, would not have supported him. He laboured for thirty years in the service of the country. In this service he ruined a robust constitution, broke a lofty spirit, destroyed a first-rate understanding, and met an untimely death, without adding a shilling to his patrimonial fortune, or, if we except the step which his father was advanced in the peerage, changing a letter of his patrimonial title.

What the country gained from him may never be calculated; what he gained from the country was lunacy and a martyr's grave.[1]

So long a time has elapsed since the demise of the lamented subject of these Memoirs, and so much care and delicacy are obviously necessary in the selection of Papers connected with and illustrating his character, public life, and services, that, strongly as I feel it to be a fraternal duty incumbent on me to give the prominent particulars of his life to the world, I might perhaps have been induced to pass over even this act of justice to the memory of a regretted Brother, from a sense of inadequacy to the task, had it not been for the appearance of a publication emanating from a writer of no ordinary celebrity. This work, while professing to afford a sketch of the character of my relation, contained such remarks and animadversions, and was couched in a tone of such uncalled-for severity, as rendered it necessary for me to enter upon a vindication of his memory, and which I shall annex to the imperfect portraiture furnished in the preceding pages.

[1] "New Times."

If any additional motive beyond those which I have mentioned is wanting for my undertaking, it may be found in the desire of affording materials for the history of the times in which my inestimable relative lived, and in which he occupied so conspicuous a place. I should also be guilty of ingratitude to those high-minded friends who encouraged me, and who, when my Brother was assailed, gave me irrefragable proofs of their opinions of his greatness; and I hope that I am not committing any misjudging breach of confidence towards the writers, if I publish these opinions to the world, as the answers at the moment to the character of Lord Castlereagh, drawn by Lord Brougham, in his "Historical Sketches of the Statesmen of the Reign of George the Third."

Here follows my Letter, addressed, through the medium of the press, to Lord Brougham, on the subject of his publication, in the year 1839, which, having been but partially circulated at that time, I think it right to introduce into this Memoir.

LETTER TO HENRY LORD BROUGHAM.

My Lord—Although I confess that I address your Lordship under strong feelings of regret and disappointment, yet I hope to restrain my pen from any expression inconsistent either with our respective positions, or that consideration which your splendid talents and extraordinary acquirements must ever command from all who admire genius and intellectual power.

I have just read, in your "Historical Sketches of the Statesmen of the Reign of George the Third," your delineation of the character and abilities of my beloved and lamented Brother.

It is not improbable that what I am about to urge (in justice

to his character and services, and in refutation of your Lordship's remarks upon them) may appear to be tinged with the natural partialities of grateful affection; on the other hand, it will be admitted that your Lordship's own comments may be fairly suspected of an equally strong prejudice in an opposite direction. They are at least too essentially the work of a political antagonist to be free from party feelings; and you must allow me to think, and to regret, that they are conceived in a spirit of hostility which you have permitted to survive their object, and to extend beyond the grave.

Your Lordship appears to have unnecessarily taken advantage of the benefit of survivorship to derogate from the merits of a contemporary statesman, and to have pronounced what I believe is called in your learned profession an *ex parte* judgment on his character, without allowing fairly and justly for the great and pre-eminent qualities which he possessed, in the opinion of more impartial and infinitely more competent judges than I can pretend to be. Had the publication of these Historical Sketches been postponed until all actors in the scenes described should have passed away, when the reputation of the inculpated statesman and that of the critical historian would have stood on equal terms at the bar of Posterity, the character of my Brother would have had nothing to fear. Nor, indeed, has it now; and I address your Lordship rather in satisfaction to my own feelings, and to those of many affectionate relations and friends, than from any apprehension that even your censure can cast a permanent shade over his personal qualities or his public services.

Your Lordship is acknowledged to be a profound judge of human nature; and yet, in your late publication, you seem to have forgotten that we feel the injuries done to those whom we have respected and loved far more acutely than any directed against ourselves. I am not, certainly, the only sufferer in this respect, from the contents of these volumes. Your animadversions upon Kings George the Third and Fourth must undoubtedly have given the deepest pain to the surviving members of their illustrious family. You have even extended your sarcastic criticisms to Mr. Pitt; to one so indisputably

and immeasurably beyond every other man of his time, that Posterity must smile at your Lordship's delineation of his character and your estimate of his merits.

In promulgating your opinions, you wound where there can be no retaliation, and you strike where the blow cannot be returned. The private secretary of the illustrious monarchs above mentioned, Sir Herbert Taylor, was prompted by justice to correct, in some points which happened to fall within his personal knowledge, the harsh and unjust condemnation which you had passed upon those kings; whose virtues and eminent qualities far outshone the trifling and adventitious defects from which few human beings are exempt, and with which I am surprised that your Lordship's candour and good taste did not disdain to darken and disfigure your general portraits.

With such an example before me, it was not to be expected that I could allow your strictures on a Brother to remain unnoticed; although, if my feelings had permitted me, I should most willingly have avoided it. But my silence, when I have the power of protesting against your misrepresentations, might give them an air of authority which otherwise they would not possess.

It may hereafter be my province, urged by a strong sense (not less of justice than brotherly devotion), to give to the public and to posterity the various records which I possess, or can collect, of a statesman who was, in some honourable characteristics, (I will boldly affirm) inferior to none of the age in which he lived. But, as such an undertaking, delayed by circumstances and accidents which I do not now wish to advert to, must be a work of time and labour, my present duty is merely to meet the evil of the day, and I will endeavour to make my reply as brief as the observations which call for it. To the merit of brevity, in truth, your Lordship's sketch may well lay claim; for it carefully passes over those great public acts and achievements on which the historical reputation of the statesman is founded, and on which I think a lover of his country's glory might have dwelt with satisfaction far higher and purer than any that can be derived from the petty task of chronicling verbal inaccuracies, and of attempting to ridicule

the language and expressions of one who was content to rest his fame rather on actions than on words. Your Lordship's remarks may be divided under three heads. To these I shall now apply myself.

The first is with reference to Lord Castlereagh, considered as a public debater and orator. The second applies to his character and conduct during his administration as secretary for Ireland at the period of the Union. The third relates to his diplomatic services and career, up to the Treaties of Paris and Vienna, and the Congresses of Troppau and Laybach.

Your Lordship states: "While he [Lord Castlereagh] never showed the slightest symptom of information extending beyond the more recent volumes of the Parliamentary Debates, or possibly the files of the newspapers only, his diction set all imitation, perhaps all description, at defiance;" and that, "in order to beguile the tedious hours of your unavoidable attendance on the House of Commons upon the poor, tawdry, ravelled thread of his sorry discourse, it was your amusement, or that of your friends and neighbours, to collect a kind of *ana* from the fragments of mixed, incongruous, and disjointed images which frequently appeared in his speeches." You then, with the dexterity of a practised reviewer, proceed to enumerate certain sentences and phrases from Lord Castlereagh's speeches —at least, so it would be inferred (although you give no data or authority for any one selection)—and to deal with them in the spirit of charity which usually characterizes that vocation.

I will not attempt to follow you into verbal criticisms. I will only remark, that he, whose oratory you treat with such contempt, rose to eminence in that very assembly whose critical taste you so highly commend, even while it possessed Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Grey; that, for years, he became its leader, with the acquiescence of Mr. Canning and Mr. Plunket, and maintained that station to the end of his life, unshaken by the combined efforts of such men as Whitbread, Windham, Romilly, and Brougham!

Indeed, my Lord, you are, in point of reputation, more interested even than I am to prove that the powers with which you wrestled so long, so ably, and yet so vainly, were not of a

low or contemptible order. I could produce from the Parliamentary Debates hundreds of instances when my Brother took a distinguished part, among such distinguished men: I shall mention, however, only one; which I select, because it is one which ought not to have escaped your Lordship's observation, although it presents no incongruity of images, no incorrectness of diction, none of the faults which you are pleased to attribute, with such severity, to his style. That speech was delivered on the 15th of February, 1822, on the question of the Sinking Fund. It was chiefly in reply to *yourself;* and that consideration will, perhaps, justify me in your eyes for transcribing here a portion of it, as a proof that Lord Castlereagh was neither reluctant nor unequal to meet even your Lordship in that arena where your own reputation was chiefly acquired.

In alluding to Mr. Brougham, Lord Castlereagh first says: "If the House has read with as patient attention as I have—*and everything that proceeds from the honourable and learned gentleman is worthy of attention*—the speeches which the honourable and learned gentleman made, in 1816 and 1817, on the manufacturing and commercial state of the country, they must have remarked the striking contrast between those speeches and the speech which the honourable and learned gentleman delivered the last time he addressed this House."

The above strongly evinces the generosity of Lord Castlereagh's nature in always doing justice to your Lordship's high acquirements; and from which, if he had survived your Lordship, I am satisfied he would never have departed. He then proceeds to the part to which I more particularly allude.

"I have now to communicate to the House that it is the intention of his Majesty's government, without loss of time, to enter into a negociation for the reduction of the higher rates of interest payable to the public creditors. I am confident that the operation will be effected with perfect facility so soon as Parliament shall have shown itself firm to its purpose, and when the country shall, through a conviction of this determination, be relieved from the gloomy apprehensions resulting from the *honourable and learned gentleman's menaces*, and from those hints of *some frightful* but obscure '*necessity*' which is to over-

rule all our deliberations on this subject. '*Necessity*,' sir, is THE TYRANT'S PLEA; and I look at it with as much alarm and jealousy when it peeps from under the gown of a professional man, as when it comes from the mouth of a conqueror or a despot, for in either case it threatens destruction to the first principles of justice, morality, and law.

"It is evident that the word '*necessity*,' as used by the honourable and learned gentleman, (and I have not chosen to put so strong a construction upon the term as my friends around me think I should have been warranted in doing, because I do not think it for the public interest to give to it such an alarming construction,)—but it is evident that the word '*necessity*,' used in the obscure and ominous manner in which the learned gentleman has used it, is calculated to excite apprehension in every loyal and virtuous mind, and to blight the great resources of our prosperity and power, unless Parliament at the outset shall boldly meet and oppose the honourable and learned gentleman's projects, and uphold with a strong hand the principles to which they have been indebted for the maintenance of the national character and of the public interests and honour." Mr. Brougham, in reply, on that day, congratulated Lord Castlereagh on his very able statement.

But, after all, the merits of Lord Castlereagh as a statesman rest on far higher ground than his powers as an orator. It is natural for your Lordship to attach the utmost importance to the claims of eloquence, and to assume the degree in which it may be possessed as an unerring standard of moral or political worth; but I will boldly assert that to Lord Castlereagh belongs the better and nobler praise of honest, straightforward, manly bearing, among all the chances, and perils, and complications of political warfare. Ever prepared to give a triumphant reply to his opponents, he never shrunk from undertaking the arduous management of public affairs in the House of Commons, in whatever department of the King's service he might be placed; he never condescended to flatter an opponent in order to gain a point; he courted responsibility for every measure which he recommended; he never converted a political rival into an enemy, nor ever sacrificed a principle to gain a friend.

Having disposed of Lord Castlereagh as a debater, by summarily declaring that "he was incapable of uttering two sentences of anything but in the meanest manner, in the most wretched language," &c. (see p. 124,) your Lordship is pleased next to review his merits as a counsellor of his sovereign.

It is true that you begin with admitting that "here he had more resources;" you allow him to be "brave, politically as well as personally," and you allude to the Irish Union as having afforded proof of those qualities; while you add that "he was of a cold temperament and a determined character:" but you are also pleased to state that the complaints of his Irish administration were well grounded as regarded the corruption of the Parliament by which he accomplished the Union, (though he had certainly no direct hand in the bribery practised,) and that they were entirely unfounded as regarded the cruelties during and after the rebellion.

How far this alleged corruption was carried, or in what it differed from the exercise of patronage for less worthy objects now-a-days, I will not pretend to pronounce. But a remarkable letter, of which I give an extract, from the Marquess Cornwallis, dated Dublin Castle, April 3rd, 1800, to Lord Wellesley, in reference to the Union, will prove that corruption was not, and could not be, in any manner, attributable to Lord Castlereagh.

"We have hitherto carried all our questions by a majority of between forty and fifty; but I am sorry to say that it is an unwilling majority, dragged out with difficulty to vote by the orders of the borough proprietors who brought them into Parliament, and detesting the measure, which blasts their hopes of obtaining those little *douceurs* which have so long been enjoyed by the members of the Irish House of Commons. The *great commanding interests* which have so handsomely supported us remain firm and unshaken, and I trust that it will not be in the power of clamour, folly, or treason, to prevent our ultimate success."

Another admission is made, for which I most unfeignedly and gratefully thank your Lordship; and it is on record now from you, and it will be the best answer to the continued base and numerous allegations against Lord Castlereagh from

Mr. O'Connell and the Irish Radicals, that "Lord Castlereagh uniformly and strenuously set his face against the atrocities committed in Ireland; and that to him, more than perhaps any one else, was to be attributed the termination of the system stained with blood," &c. (p. 126.)

I am not aware from what channel your Lordship has derived this information, nor on what evidence you found your judgment; but, if any kind and true contemporary friend of Lord Castlereagh has furnished your Lordship with such facts and circumstances as have induced you to draw almost the only favourable conclusions that are contained in your sketch, I trust that same friend (with equal honesty and truth) will give to the world—what it very much requires—some authentic and correct report of the suppression of the rebellion, and the completion of the Union with Ireland, which stands as the proudest and noblest monument of Lord Castlereagh's parliamentary career.

I would rather, at present, confine myself to a later period, coming more immediately under my own observation and knowledge; but, in order to place upon record without delay one of the most honourable testimonies ever perhaps bestowed on any Statesman, I subjoin an extract of a letter addressed by the late Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh, the original of which is now among the family papers in my possession; and which will account for my Brother's being at his death still a member of the House of Commons, after services which had placed, over and over again, a British Peerage at his command.

"London, Wednesday Night, July 2, 1800.

"My dear Lord—Much as I incline to hope that the letter I wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant on the 27th of last month has removed any possible doubt that can have occurred to you respecting the opinion of the King's servants, upon the manner in which the important and arduous work of the Union has been conducted on your side of the water, and that you are thoroughly satisfied of the desire and anxious wish which is felt to do you the fullest justice in every step that has been taken by you throughout the course of that great measure, I

cannot help troubling you with a repetition of the assurances I addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, for the express purpose of adding that, in all those trying occasions in which you were so frequently exposed, and in which it was impossible for you to resort to the assistance of the Lord-Lieutenant's advice and experience, the determinations you formed have so constantly and unexceptionably manifested such powers of talent and judgment, as cannot but be considered as entitling you to our particular acknowledgments and thanks, and to the respect and gratitude of both kingdoms.

"After such a declaration, which I make with equal pleasure and sincerity, I feel myself in some degree called upon to recur to the subject of the English peerage to Lord Londonderry, and to enter into such an explanation respecting it as may put you in full possession of the King's gracious intentions towards you, Lord Londonderry, and all your house, as may convince you of the justice his Majesty is disposed to do to your Lordship; and that the idea of not giving an English peerage to Lord Londonderry was suggested only by those parental feelings which dispose his Majesty to attend to every means of promoting the interests of his people. On this principle, his Majesty wished that it should be stated to you, and to Lord Londonderry, that your own respective interests, and those of your family, together with those of the empire at large, might be better consulted by Lord Londonderry's not being created a British peer, and by your not coming into the House of Lords of the United Kingdom until age, infirmity, or the desire of repose should make you wish to retire from the more busy and active scene of the House of Commons; and that, at whatever time that inclination should show itself, and be expressed, whether during the lifetime of Lord Londonderry, or not until after your Lordship had succeeded to that title, the descendants of Lord Londonderry, by his present or any future Countess, should be included in the succession to the peerage, in the same manner as if it had been, or was now to be, granted to him. And I should farther add, that if neither Lord Londonderry nor your Lordship should ever hold a British peerage,

his Majesty was pleased to say, that your services could not but be so remembered as to secure that distinction to your and Lord Londonderry's descendants at any future period.

"PORTLAND."

How truly prophetic the Duke of Portland's letter afterwards proved, as to the expediency of Lord Castlereagh's remaining in the House of Commons, the events from 1800 to 1822 sufficiently attest. It is only necessary for me to add, that it was owing to this document, and to the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, on his return from the Congress of Verona in 1823, that this peculiar mark of royal consideration and favour was conferred on Lord Castlereagh's successor, by promoting him two steps in the peerage, instead of one;—a proceeding wholly unusual,—not, perhaps, to be justified, except on the ground of his Brother's splendid and acknowledged public services.

The letter, of which the following is an extract, was written August 18, 1823:—

"When the loss of your justly-beloved and lamented Brother was suddenly announced to me by an express from my brother William, those who were near me, especially Mr. Plunket, can best attest with what heartfelt grief I was affected by the dreadful tidings of that woful calamity; and with what dismay I viewed its consequences, not only to the public, but to my own interests, as connected with the strength and prosperity of the government of Ireland. Although separated from your Brother for a long period of time in the course of political affairs, I had long acted with him, and the spirit of mutual esteem had never been extinguished between us. On my appointment to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, I received from him the most cordial support, and the most active and useful assistance; and I found in him the greatest knowledge, combined with the purest zeal for the interests of Ireland; and the most liberal sentiments, tempered with the soundest prudence, discretion, and practical wisdom. The whole benefit of these invaluable qualifications he imparted to me without reserve.

His loss, therefore, severe as it was to his country and friends, was to me irreparable; and I must have been as inconsistent as ungrateful, if I had not considered his memory with a degree of affection and reverence proportioned to my sense of the value of his confidence and generous friendship.

"Towards your Lordship it was impossible that I should feel any disposition less warm than the most friendly regard, strengthened by the happy alliance which connects our families. Independently of your Brother's memory, you are justly entitled to my highest consideration; and it certainly afforded me some consolation, under the loss of your Brother, that I should be enabled at once to unite the testimonies of my attachment to his memory with those of my regard and esteem for his successor and representative, in the person of a long-respected friend."

The above extract is from a private letter of the Marquess Wellesley to myself, and I did not think myself at liberty to publish it without his Lordship's acquiescence; but he not only most kindly and generously permitted it, but added to the weight of the obligation which my family and myself must ever feel towards him, by sending me the annexed document, which I now present to my readers, not only as a valuable record of the sentiments of a statesman whose brilliant career, whether in Europe, or in Asia, has never been surpassed, as to the qualities of my Brother, but also as affording, in beauty of composition and honesty of statement, a model for those who are above petty jealousies and envious rivalship, and as displaying throughout the features of a just, a noble, and a manly mind.

"Kingston House, June 28, 1839.

"My dear Lord—In your Lordship's letter, dated the 20th of June, you are pleased to express a wish to receive from me a statement of any circumstances which have occurred in the course of my public service, tending to corroborate those sentiments and opinions respecting the character of your late lamented Brother so truly and so cordially declared by me to your Lordship in my letter from Ireland in the year 1823.

"The whole course of my public service, as far as it was connected with the public acts of that most excellent and able personage, affords one connected series of proofs of his eminent ability, spotless integrity, high sense of honour, comprehensive and enlarged views, sound practical knowledge, ready despatch of business, and perfect discretion and temper in the conduct of the most arduous public affairs.

"He came to the chief conduct of the affairs of India at a most critical period, when the British government was engaged in that contest with the Mahrattah chiefs, which, under the happy auspices of Lord Lake and General Wellesley, terminated so gloriously, and completed the destruction of the French power in the East. Although he differed with me in some points connected with the origin of the war, he most zealously and honourably assisted me in the conduct of it, and gave me his powerful support in Parliament against all the assaults of my enemies. He at once saw the great objects of policy which I contemplated, and which have since been so happily accomplished; and, with a generosity and vigour of mind not often equalled, he gave me every aid in the pursuit of a plan not his own, and afterwards every just degree of honour and praise in its ultimate success.

"In my published despatches, your Lordship will find abundant proofs of your Brother's merits of every description; especially in the transactions in the Carnatic, in Oude, and other complicated affairs, and in his liberal support of the College of Fort William. But I must add one circumstance, which does not appear in those despatches. During the whole of my administration, he never interfered in the slightest degree in the vast patronage of our Indian empire, and he took especial care to signify this determination to the expectants by whom he was surrounded, and to me. In his published despatches, many examples occur of great abilities and statesmanlike views; and they are all written in a style much more worthy of imitation than of censure.

"Having had no public intercourse with your Brother from the time of my return from India in 1806 until my resignation

of the seals of the Foreign Office in 1812, I do not dwell on the circumstances of that period of time. But I cannot omit a transaction which occurred immediately at the moment of my resignation. I had always entertained strong hopes of the ultimate destruction of the power of Buonaparte; whose means, however vast, appeared to me to be inadequate to the magnitude of his designs, and whose designs appeared to me to be always liable to counteraction from his uncontrollable temper and boundless indiscretion. With these sentiments, in which I was cordially supported by the Prince Regent, I had formed a plan for the revival of our alliances with Russia, Prussia, and Sweden; and, understanding that Bernadotte (then Crown Prince of Sweden, under the influence of Buonaparte,) was disposed to consult the interests and independence of Sweden, and his own, and to embrace our alliance, I had sent Mr. Thornton, under the appearance of a commercial mission, to open negociations with Bernadotte.

"At the same time, I proposed to send M. Pozzo di Borgo (who had arrived from Vienna) with a letter from the Prince Regent to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, for a similar purpose. The letter to the Emperor was drawn by me, and approved by the Prince; when circumstances compelled me to resign the seals of the Foreign Department, to which your Brother was appointed. On his appointment, the Prince directed me to wait on Lord Castlereagh, and to communicate freely all my plans and views. Your Brother received me with the utmost cordiality, and entered with sincere zeal into my suggestions. He instantly despatched M. Pozzo di Borgo to Russia. Both missions (to Sweden and Russia) succeeded; and thus was laid the foundation of that system by which Europe was ultimately saved, and the power of Buonaparte destroyed.

"I call your Lordship's attention to this statement, in order to prove the vigour, readiness, and comprehension of your Brother's mind; which, in opposition to prevalent prejudices, (perhaps even to his own,) could at once embrace, and could pursue with ardour, and ultimately with success, a plan founded

on such precarious materials, but leading to such important results.

"From the year 1812, I had no intercourse with your Brother until the close of the year 1821, when I was called to undertake the arduous charge of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. On that occasion, I had repeated private interviews with your Brother, whose sentiments on the subject of Ireland were of the most liberal description, most favourable to all the just views and interests of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and most practically beneficial to the general welfare, happiness, and prosperity of Ireland. He was thoroughly conversant with every circumstance relating to Irish affairs, and he was most sincerely and faithfully attached to the cause of Ireland. Here I must refer your Lordship to my letter of 1823, which was dictated by my conscience and by my heart.

"Much public gratitude is due from me to the memory of this great character; a higher tribute is due to truth and justice. In obedience to both duties, I most solemnly declare that the British empire has seldom sustained a greater injury than in the loss of the late Marquess of Londonderry.

"Believe me to be always, my dear Lord, with sincere regard,

"Your Lordship's faithful and obliged servant,

"WELLESLEY."

"The Marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B. &c."

I have moreover in my possession many other letters from most eminent characters of the day, alike honourable to my Brother, and affording the proudest testimonials of his public services. The following letter is in answer to one which I requested my friend, the late Bishop of Calcutta, to write to Sir Walter Scott, to learn if he would undertake the biography of Lord Castlereagh:—

Sir Walter Scott to the Rev. S. M. Turner.

"Abbotsford, October 27, 1827.

"Dear Sir—I am favoured with your letter, and feel it a particular honour that I should be thought capable of under-

taking a work of so much consequence as a memoir of the life of the late Lord Londonderry. No man wishes more to see, or would delight more to contribute to any work which should contribute to place that most upright and excellent statesman's memory in the rank which it ought to hold with his countrymen. I am conscious that, by dint of repeating a set of cant phrases, which, when examined, have neither sense nor truth, a grand effort has been made to blind the British public as to the nature of the important services which he rendered to his country, and that the truth of history has in no case been so much encroached upon to serve the purposes of party. I have often looked for some occurrence to speak a little plain sense on this subject, and I hope I shall find one.

"But, notwithstanding, I feel myself in some most important particulars totally incapable of doing justice to the task which your good opinion and that of Lord Londonderry would impose on me, I have during the course of my life been always too much amused with my own pursuits to attend to Parliamentary debates and party politics. The general facts of public history I may know something of, but they would help me little where an intimate acquaintance with the proceedings in the House of Commons would be expected from an author who should presume to be Lord Castlereagh's biographer. Besides, I am particularly unacquainted with the intricate and difficult questions arising out of the politics of Ireland; and, never having been called upon, by any duty of my own, to consider or indeed attend to them, I could not flatter myself with the hopes of being able to treat that most important matter in the manner which it deserves. What I saw and heard, in a visit of a few weeks to that country, rather confounded any ideas which I had previously entertained on that subject; and, however little the opinion of an author may be worth, I feel I should do a wrong thing, were I to express any at all upon a subject so difficult to comprehend. I frankly own, as things stand, I would be disposed to a liberal accommodation with the Roman Catholics, provided they could offer any security for the national church. I had a strong belief in the

progressive influence of common sense, when it gets permission to act, in silencing party spirit, even at the expense of concessions. At the same time, this is only a general opinion, hastily formed by a stranger, much unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances of a country which must be in one sense termed very unfortunate, though so fine a land in itself, and containing so noble a population as the Irish undoubtedly are.

" Another objection, more personal to myself, is, that I enjoyed for a long time a considerable degree of Canning's friendship; and though at the period of 1809 I disapproved of his conduct towards Lord Castlereagh, and even took the liberty to point out to himself something which I thought not right or direct in his conduct, through the medium of our mutual friend George Ellis, yet I retain too lively a recollection of his talents, his constant kindness to myself, and his amiable habits in society where I then frequently met him, to make myself the individual who ought either to judge or to censure him. *Then* I certainly wished him to have the highest place in the Government; and it was only subsequent events which convinced me that the power of Britain, at the most important crisis of her fate, was most happily and triumphantly consigned to Lord Castlereagh. Still I feel it is not for me to enter upon the discussions which must and ought to be minutely examined by the author of Lord Castlereagh's memoirs.

" I have, however, the deepest and most anxious interest in his fame; I owed him personally much kindness for the civility he uniformly showed me after our first acquaintance in 1815. But this is little compared to the honour of becoming united with that of Lord Castlereagh, (I use the name by which he will long be remembered in history,) in a manner which can never be separated. The publication of such official documents as can be made public, with a plain and fair statement of the facts which support them, is a task which any honest and manly biographer can easily perform. It is therefore with less pain that I relinquish the honourable undertaking which has been presented to me, that I am convinced you will yourself do it full justice. The time is very favourable; for the world has

been so long glutted with nonsense and falsehood, that truth will have the merit of novelty, and should be stated rather with logical precision and force than with much rhetoric. If anything should occur in which the experience of an old hack *litterateur* like myself can be the least auxiliary, command my services, for my heart is in the cause. Pray express to the Marquess of Londonderry that I think myself highly honoured by his good opinion, and believe me,

"Dear Sir,

"Your obliged humble servant,

"WALTER SCOTT."

"To the Rev. J. M. Turner."

Having thus quoted, for your Lordship's instruction, the statesman and the poet, I now refer you to the historian. It is most singular, and must surprise even your Lordship, how closely this unprejudiced and justly celebrated writer follows your premises, and yet how totally different are his deductions.

"In almost every feature of his character and career, Lord Castlereagh was the reverse of his accomplished rival, Mr. Canning; and the mortal hostility which, for a time, prevailed between them, was typical of the struggle between those antagonist principles in the British Constitution, so soon destined to come into collision, and whose conflict, ere long, shook the empire to its foundation. Born of a noble and powerful family, he did not, like his brilliant rival, owe his elevation to his own unaided exertions, but was wafted into office and public life with all the advantages of birth and connexions. He was early entrusted with high situations in the Irish Government; and, in the important and arduous matter of the Union with England, gave immediate proof of that prompt determination and undaunted courage, which ultimately shone forth with such lustre on the great theatre of Europe. An indefatigable man of business, thoroughly acquainted with all the details of office in the situations which he successively held, he was gifted with none of the qualities which are calculated to win the favour of a popular assembly, or captivate the imagination of the great body of mankind. His speeches, always distinguished by

strong sense, unflinching energy, and lofty feeling, were generally full of matter, and often abounded with vigorous and conclusive arguments; but they wanted the charm of a poetic fancy, they were destitute of the force of condensed expression, and seldom rose to the height of impassioned oratory. Hence his influence in the House as a debater was inconsiderable; and, though he long held important situations, and commanded, from his qualities as a statesman, the respect even of his enemies, he owed less than any minister of the day to the power of eloquence.

"But, if the great and ennobling characteristics of a statesman are considered, none in English history will occupy a loftier pedestal, or be deemed worthy of more unqualified admiration. Fixed in his principles, disinterested in his patriotism, unbending in his resolutions, he possessed, in the highest degree, that great quality, without which, in the hour of trial, all others are but as tinkling brass—moral courage and unflinching determination; and they know little of human affairs who are not aware that this is at once the rarest, the most valuable, and the most commanding gift of Nature. His courage was not simply that of a soldier who mounts the breach, though none possessed personal bravery in a higher degree; it was that of the general who greatly dares, of the statesman who nobly endures; and this invaluable quality seemed to rise with the circumstances which called for its exertion. Conspicuous in the conduct of the Irish Government at the time of the Union, it was doubly so during the perils and anxieties of the Peninsular campaigns, and shone forth with the brightest lustre in the crisis of Europe during the invasion of France. By his firmness of character and yet suavity of manner, he mainly contributed to hold together the sometimes discordant elements of the grand alliance; by his energy he brought forth the mighty resources of England, at the decisive moment, with irresistible force; and, when the resolution of the bravest hearts in Europe was failing under the responsibility of the last throw of the conflict, he nobly stood forth, and by his single efforts mainly brought about the bold determination which

hurled Napoleon from his throne. The supporter of rational freedom, he was the resolute opponent of unbridled democracy; the real friend of the people, he was the unceasing enemy of their excesses; and, while he disdained to purchase popularity by flattering their passions, he risked in their cause the objects to which his life had been devoted, and alone of all the statesmen of Europe procured for Poland, amidst the maledictions of the liberals and the delirium of Alexander's victories, a national existence, institutions, and laws; blessings, too soon, alas! torn from them amidst the democratic transports and selfish ambition of later times."

I will now approach the last head of your Lordship's recorded opinions, which are not less at variance with the solemn and express approbation of Parliament, than with the universal testimony of Europe. I should be unjust also to the people of England, did I not believe that there are still among them those who retain a grateful recollection of that indefatigable zeal and rare capacity, which mainly contributed to secure to them the glorious peace they have now so long and so happily enjoyed.

Your Lordship must forgive me if, with this conviction, I venture to dissent from the judgment which declares "Lord Castlereagh's foreign administration to have been as destitute of all merit as possible."

I must likewise be permitted to express surprise that your Lordship should have passed over in silence the few but important subjects, on which Lord Castlereagh's sentiments may have coincided with your own. I might perhaps have expected an ally to appreciate the unswerving consistency of his conduct on the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation, and the unwearied energy with which (like your Lordship) he contended for the abolition of the Slave Trade by foreign States, though he had always been the opponent of the measure itself, until it became the law of the land. These might well have deserved some favourable notice from your Lordship's pen. It may not be irrelevant here to remark, that the imperfect working of the principle of abolition, which was formerly predicted by Lord

Castlereagh, is now universally admitted; and (what is well known to your Lordship) that all the Governments which have held office since 1815 have thought it their best policy to endeavour to carry out those measures which Lord Castlereagh himself then devised and adopted for the suppression or restriction of that disgraceful traffic.

Upon this part of the subject I may venture to appeal to the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, which I find thus recorded in a review of that gentleman's life, in a literary publication of great ability; and I quote it with the more pleasure, because it gives, incidentally, a character of my Brother the more gratifying, since it is attributed to a gentleman [1] (a friend, I believe, of your own), who, without being a follower of his, was a near observer of the greater portion of his political life:—

"Of Lord Londonderry, Mr. Wilberforce seemed at first to have formed a very low, and, we need not add, very erroneous opinion; but, when his Lordship's situation became more prominent, and his character better defined, that polished benevolence, that high and calm sense of honour, that consummate address, that invincible firmness, and that profound yet unostentatious sagacity, won the respect and confidence of Wilberforce, as they did of reluctant senates at home, and of suspicious cabinets abroad."— Mr. Croker, in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 277.

With regard to that foreign policy which your Lordship has stigmatized as so "destitute of merit," I would first ask, What minister can be named under whose government the arms of Britain ever attained so high a pitch of renown? When has England, before or since, been recognised by all Europe as the saviour of her liberties and the arbitress of her destinies? When have alliances been attended with such unvarying success? Even those formed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville (I will venture to affirm) were as ropes of sand compared with the treaties which led to the memorable events of 1813-14-15.

One after another, all the powers of the Continent, whom

[1] Mr. Croker.

Lord Castlereagh found in arms against us, became, at his invitation, our allies and friends; and in no instance did they desert us until all the objects of the alliances had been obtained. Lord Castlereagh found Napoleon the master of Europe, from the gates of Paris to the banks of the Niemen: he left him at St. Helena, a captive and an exile in the midst of the Atlantic. What period can be mentioned in our annals in which the counsels of England were so much looked up to by every government in Europe? Finally, and to crown all, that peace, concluded by the constant energies of his mind and the sagacity of his negotiations, has now remained uninterrupted for twenty-five years; and surely this fact, of itself, is at once an argument and a proof in favour of an administration of affairs stated to be "destitute of all merit." I then proudly maintain that the combination of all the Continental powers in one vast and generous principle of action, in an abandonment of self-interest for the common cause, in an unlimited confidence in the British cabinet, and deference to its recommendation on the part of foreign powers,—all these incontestable results distinguished the course of Lord Castlereagh's diplomatic career.

I had believed that no Englishman could have contemplated so brilliant a passage in the annals of his country without some tribute of grateful acknowledgment to the noble and high-minded Statesman who had then the chief direction of her foreign affairs. Your Lordship, however, has undeceived me. The historian who passes over such events, without at least some appearance of sympathy and satisfaction, will hardly be esteemed a patriot. The critic, who notices them only to gather from them, with singular ingenuity, matter for cavil and detraction, will scarcely be regarded by posterity as an unimpeachable witness.

Your Lordship, it is true, does mention the Congress of Vienna, but only to accuse Lord Castlereagh of taking a vulgar pride in being suffered to become the associate of the Sovereigns; and you state that he appeared desirous, with the vanity of an upstart, elevated unexpectedly into higher circles,

of forgetting what he had been, and qualifying himself for the company he now kept by assuming their habits. Now, although enjoying, in a remarkable manner, from the suavity and amiability of his personal deportment, the closest intimacy with those illustrious persons, I assert, without fear of contradiction, that no man—not even your Lordship—was ever less dazzled by his connection with royalty; less obnoxious to the imputation of fawning, and flattering, and glozing; less disposed, in short, to make his habitual and necessary intercourse with princes the subject of vain and flippant boasting. Perhaps, all those Englishmen who visited Vienna at that period will remember the dignified bearing and simplicity of England's plenipotentiary. He bore his honours with such becoming and proverbial humility, that I can only attribute the imputation of "the upstart pride and vanity" which you assert to have "flung him at once and for ever into the arms of the Sovereigns," to have its origin in your Lordship's own creative imagination.

With regard to Poland, those eminent diplomatists who were present at the Congress, and who are still alive, know full well that his conduct in the negotiations with the Emperor Alexander was the direct reverse of what your Lordship has been pleased to proclaim. As to the Foreign Potentates, he never lent himself to more than the proper courtesy due to their exalted station; and, whilst Lord Castlereagh was persuaded that he had at heart objects only to be gained by promoting harmony in their councils, he never lost sight of the real and special interests of his own country, nor of what was due to himself as a man, a statesman, and a servant of the Crown.

Perhaps a reference here to the speech of a generous rival, as contrasted with your Lordship's phrase of "destitute of all merit," may not be amiss, if your Lordship be still open to conviction.

Mr. Whitbread says, in the debate on the address on the treaty of peace with France, June 29, 1814, that,—"He had originally opposed the administration of the noble Lord [Castlereagh] also; but, seeing an alteration in the tone

of that noble Lord from what he had remarked in his predecessors, and that, too, at a moment when more than ordinary success might have been supposed to have made him less moderate, he had reposed confidence in the moderation of that noble Lord; telling him that he did so, and that the time would come when he should be able to declare whether or not that confidence had or had not been deservedly reposed. That time had now arrived; and he could tell the noble Lord that, in every respect, except that article in the treaty which regarded the Slave Trade, and to which he ought never to have put his name, the noble Lord had fully and completely deserved that confidence which he had reposed in him. He could tell the noble Lord that there was one part of his history which, in his opinion, redounded more to his honour than all the rest of that important business, which (except in the article already alluded to) he had brought to so glorious an issue,—and that was, that, when he went to negotiate, he fairly tried the experiment of doing so with the then ruler of France; and, though the papers had not been produced, Mr. Whitbread said he was fully convinced that the negotiation at Chatillon had been broken off only in consequence of the folly, madness, or what else, of Buonaparte himself. The noble Lord's firmness, however, was not damped; he persevered in his undaunted course; and, by his firmness, contributed to keep the allied powers together till the business was brought to a conclusion. Mr. Whitbread said he had often recommended to ministers to make a peace with the ruler of France, if that could be done; there was no evidence of the impracticability of such a measure till the noble Lord had tried it: being then found impracticable, no man rejoiced more in the restoration of the Bourbons, coupled, as it was, with the safety of Paris from destruction, than he did. The honourable member then paid a compliment to the magnanimous moderation of the Emperor Alexander; for, considering the destruction of Moscow, and the lengthened irritation of the pursuit, he could hardly have believed it possible that Paris would have been entered by the Russians, and not destroyed."

I do not mean to allege that Mr. Whitbread did not, in the course of many subsequent debates, disapprove of some of the details of Lord Castlereagh's arrangements at the Congress of Vienna. Nevertheless, he had the magnanimity to unite in the universal acclamation of applause that marked Lord Castlereagh's return to England. He never permitted himself to assert that his foreign administration was "destitute of all merit;" and, when he assailed it in details, I find Lord Castlereagh meeting him with the following speech, April 10, 1815; which is only another proof how much alive Lord Castlereagh always was to the moral influence of his country abroad, and to what should be the true conduct of the British leader of the House of Commons at home:—"Lord Castlereagh still maintained that no public transaction of an important nature ought to be partially discussed on imperfect documents. His return to England afforded no justification whatever for a departure from the ordinary course with respect to communications on public affairs. The Congress which he had recently attended was not the first that had assembled in Europe. It had happened, in former meetings of the same nature, that our negotiator had frequently been changed. Under such circumstances, would it have been tolerated that every individual negotiator so returning should be compelled to state to Parliament the progress of transactions not brought to a close? There could be no pretence for such a thing. He was perfectly aware that nothing he could say would have any effect on the honourable gentlemen; but he was sure the House of Commons would feel the value of these observations. To the honourable gentlemen it was, no doubt, easier to calumniate his Majesty's ministers and the allies of the country on imperfect documents, than on full information; for experience had shown that, when he proceeded on the latter, no one had been less fortunate than the honourable gentleman in establishing the charges which he had thought proper to adduce against public men. He was sure, therefore, that he should make no impression on the mind of the honourable gentleman; and he abandoned the

hope of preserving the confidence which it was now evident had been given to him by the honourable gentleman only because he felt that, at the moment when it was given, he [Lord C.] was unassailable. Having thus given his confidence, the honourable gentleman turned round, and made his previous candour the ground for a more virulent assault. Without meaning any personal disrespect to the honourable gentleman, or anything unparliamentary, he would say that, contemplating the mode in which the honourable gentleman had lately thought proper to attack him and the other members of his Majesty's government, he must be content to sacrifice the confidence which the honourable gentleman had reposed in him, and to be guided solely by his sense of public duty. He was perfectly prepared to defend his own conduct and that of the other members of the Congress in a parliamentary and legitimate manner; but not by deviating into that course which the honourable gentleman, with a due regard to his own honour, ought to quit, and not to continue to lower the character of his country by unfounded and dangerous representations, which, circulating in Europe, were most prejudicial to that moral influence in which the power of Great Britain on the Continent so essentially resided."

On Lord Castlereagh's conduct and proceedings at the Congress of Chatillon I could much enlarge; but there are peers in our Senate, as well as many living statesmen, who were participators in the scenes of that period, and who could no doubt afford your Lordship full information, if truth be your object; and I believe it would be more becoming in me to give your Lordship reference to others, than to presume upon the confidential and public situation in which I was then placed. Of this fact your Lordship may be assured, that, had it not been for Lord Castlereagh's counsels, and his firmness and decision, the march on Paris never would have taken place, nor would the great combination of the Allied Powers, headed by the Emperor Alexander, have been carried into effect.

I come now to another part of Lord Castlereagh's public career, on which your Lordship seems to have been studiously

silent; I mean his administration of Indian affairs: I must, therefore, in common justice, advert briefly to this subject.

Lord Castlereagh was appointed President of the Board of Control in August, 1802, being then a member of Parliament for the County of Down. He came into office as Indian minister, at a most difficult period, and when subjects of the highest importance in India and in the United Kingdom required all the wisdom of Mr. Pitt's administration for their adjustment and satisfactory settlement. The objects which first engaged his attention were the Carnatic, the Anglo-Indian military establishments, and the reduction of the Indian debt. In his first official letter to the Marquess Wellesley (see the W. Despatches, vol. iii., p. 32), dated Duneira, 10th August, 1802, he expresses his determination to co-operate cordially with Lord Wellesley in the administration of Indian affairs, and urges his Lordship's retaining the Governor-Generalship, as a point of vital consequence to the Empire at large. These sentiments are expressed in the following language (see page 32, vol. iii.):—

"I avail myself of the first tranquil day I have had, to address myself to your Lordship, and to express the very particular satisfaction I derive from feeling myself placed in a situation which connects me in close official habits with your Lordship; from which I promise myself not less advantage in my public capacity than gratification to my individual feelings from former intercourse, from common connections, and from the zeal which we shall both feel in the same object. I venture to flatter myself I shall have the good fortune to possess, as I shall endeavour to deserve, your unqualified and unreserved confidence; and I trust it is unnecessary to assure you that my utmost exertions shall be employed to give stability to your administration, and to co-operate with you in the conduct of Indian affairs with that cordiality which can alone render our united exertions successful.

"Whatever circumstances may have occurred in the course of your official intercourse with this country, not altogether satisfactory, and however your Lordship may feel many strong,

motives inclining you to return to Europe, yet I am led to hope that nothing will induce you to deliver up the government into other hands till you have fully completed all those arrangements, equally connected with the most important and brilliant features of your own administration, as with the conclusion which has been put to the late war. In whatever degree the pecuniary affairs of the Company may have felt the pressure of the contest, it is connected with your Lordship's distinguished reputation—in which every friend of yours, and of the country, must feel a deep interest—that *you* should be the individual to lay the foundation of that system, and of those measures, which are in peace to accomplish the prosperity of those possessions which you have so successfully preserved and improved in war; and I feel the strongest persuasion that the same energy of mind which led you so happily to conceive, and so effectually to execute, the many arduous measures connected with the late contest, will, when applied to another state of things, be as fruitful in drawing from peace the resources of which it is susceptible, as you have proved yourself in war competent to direct those resources to their true and legitimate purpose. Your Lordship's reputation as a statesman during a period of war has been established on the most solid foundation: it only remains to exhibit the qualifications which belong to less arduous times, to perfect in result, as well as in the estimation of those who are inclined to watch your progress with a critical eye, the character of your administration."

The Court of Directors of the East India Company of that day were, for several reasons, (such as the encouragement given by the Governor-General to the private trade, the foundation of a College at Calcutta, and the appointment to office in India of able and meritorious servants, without reference to England,) as Lord Castlereagh remarks, (Despatch, 25th August, 1803,) using a "vexatious resistance to the Board of Control, as well on the point of authority as on that of business;" and acting "in a manner repugnant to the understanding and feelings of the superintending authorities at home;"—in fact, rendering it a "difficult and delicate task to manage such a body as the Court

of Directors." (Lord Castlereagh's Despatch, 15th November, 1802.) Nevertheless, the President of the Board of Control, "notwithstanding a strong opposition," procured the official sanction of Government to Lord Wellesley's settlements of the Carnatic and of the Oude question, and to the other principal features of the Governor-General's administration. If we consider the state of India in the years 1802-3 and 4—and the situation of England, with so large a part of Europe in arms against her, and an army of 200,000 men ready to invade the coasts of the Channel—it was of paramount importance that Lord Castlereagh should have given every possible aid to support the Governor-General against the rash and unwise measures which the Court of Directors of that day desired to adopt in the East. The feelings of the President of the Board of Control, at this momentous crisis, are best shown by the closing extract of a despatch, dated East Sheen, 27th September, 1802 (vol. iii., page 41).

"I can truly assure your Lordship, I look with confidence to the winding-up of your government being marked with as much solidity as its progress has been brilliant and commanding; and in the two great features of retrenchment of expense, and conduct towards the native powers, I am satisfied, when the government passes from your Lordship's hands, that we shall have as little to desire as to regret; for, however earnest your Lordship may feel to place our interests and authority in that quarter, before you leave India, upon the surest and most lasting foundation, your mind is too much alive to the true principles of British policy, to purchase any advantage at too high a price."

Among the measures of Lord Castlereagh's administration, there were three in particular, to which his energies were successfully directed:—1st, The augmentation of the King's troops in India to seventeen or twenty thousand men, while the Court of Directors wished a reduction to 10,000 men. Owing to the immense armaments which England, Ireland, and the Colonies then required, great difficulty was found in keeping up a strong force of Europeans in India, and this difficulty materially in-

fluenced the opinions of his Majesty's ministers on the expediency of extending our Indian territories; 2nd, The obtaining of large and constant supplies of silver in Europe to provide for the commercial investments in India; and thus to accomplish the 3rd point, viz. A reduction of the Indian debt, respecting the increase of which great alarm then existed at home. It is impossible, I contend, to examine the despatches or private letters of Lord Castlereagh, while President of the Board of Control, without being convinced of his abilities as a great statesman and financier, as also of the high rectitude and generous principles that influenced his conduct in every transaction. In a letter to the Governor-General, he states, that it is impossible to avoid being compelled to give letters of introduction and recommendation to the Government of India; but he requests that attention may *only be paid to the merits and qualifications for office, of the persons introduced.* Nowhere, in the voluminous mass of private papers relating to this eventful period, is there a trace of selfish feeling, of petty jealousy, of political intrigues, or of those personal motives which too often sway the conduct of public functionaries. Throughout all my Brother's correspondence, there is one sustained and uniform tone—that of devotion to the great and all-absorbing interests of his country, and of an earnest desire to secure the liberties of England, and of all the countries then under the tyrannous sway of Napoleon. The rule by which he invariably exercised the patronage of his office was that which influenced him on appointing Lord William Bentinck Governor of Madras; namely, a conviction that the King's service would be best promoted by the appointment.

I will now advert to a circumstance which, in my opinion, speaks volumes; I mean, the entire and uninterrupted confidence which existed throughout the whole of this eventful period, and, till the last hour of my Brother's life, between him, the Duke of Wellington, and the Earl of Liverpool. The latter has been designated by no mean authority as one of the most constitutional ministers England ever possessed. The former is acknowledged by the entire world, not only as

the first commander of the age, but also as one of the first statesmen. And it is possible that Lord Castlereagh should have enjoyed the support and approval of such men, if "his foreign administration was as destitute of all merit as possible." I believe I can now with confidence assert, while he—the pride of England—still wields the truncheon won by his high exploits, and still lives surrounded by the splendour of his immortal fame, that this illustrious man will declare that, on all great questions of European politics, and in all details connected with the management of the war since 1811,—in all the stipulations of our treaties with foreign Powers,—in all the intricate mazes of political combination,—the three great statesmen I have alluded to never disagreed in principle or in practice: they worked together as ministers, like true patriots and loyal subjects; as lovers of order and good government, as friends to liberty, but enemies to licentiousness. And yet your Lordship asserts that Lord Castlereagh's administration is as "destitute of all merit as possible." Let future history decide this point; but, in the mean time, let not the present generation be led astray by your Lordship's unsupported assertions.

One public act of Lord Castlereagh's, which I believe is but little known, but which only requires to be mentioned to be duly appreciated, I cannot pass over,—I mean the selection of Sir Arthur Wellesley to command the British army sent to the Peninsula in 1809. This was exclusively Lord Castlereagh's own act, and it was the more generous (to say nothing of the foresight and wisdom which it manifested), because at the moment it produced a certain degree of unpopularity in the military profession. Sir Arthur Wellesley, it must also be remembered, was removed from the high office he was then holding in Ireland; while Lord Castlereagh's natural feelings must, of course, have rendered him peculiarly anxious to retain him there, that his native country might enjoy the best administration of her interests which the Sovereign could command. The difficulties which Lord Castlereagh experienced in carrying on his great part in the King's government at that period

must be so well remembered by many who are now living, that it would be indecorous in me, and an imitation of the example which I condemn, were I to express opinions on the conduct of the members of the cabinet of that day, and the consequences to which it led.

The two great political antagonists of Lord Castlereagh were the late Mr. Canning and Mr. Brougham. He lived to see the former of these statesmen serving their common Sovereign, under his immediate authority and instructions, as ambassador at the court of Lisbon; and the latter, at an earlier period, and at the eventful crisis which immediately preceded the rupture with America in 1812, offered to serve under his orders as his Majesty's Minister to the United States of America. This proposal was conveyed to my Brother by Mr. Brougham, in the following terms :—

"Durham, August 1, 1812.

"My Lord—I am confident that the step which I am now taking cannot be misconstrued by your Lordship. Under the present circumstances, I beg to make a tender of my services to his Majesty's government in the conduct of the negotiation with the United States, wheresoever the same may be carried on. I am induced to think that I might be of use as a negotiator in this affair, not merely from having had the honour of being employed diplomatically by the late Mr. Secretary Fox, but chiefly because, from the share which I have accidentally had in the American question, there seems a probability of such an arrangement either facilitating an adjustment in America, or, should this unhappily fail, of rendering that failure less unsatisfactory to this country. I trust it is unnecessary to add that I can have no motives of a private or personal nature in making this offer. Should it be accepted, I must necessarily sustain a considerable injury in my professional pursuits; and, as a party man, I should expose myself to a full share of any blame attaching to the conduct or result of the negotiation. But this is one of those occasions upon which neither individual nor party feelings can find a place in my mind. If, on the other hand, this proposition is rejected, I

beg leave to assure your Lordship that I shall not feel in the smallest degree slighted, but shall continue fervently to hope for the success of the negotiation, in what hands soever the management of it may be placed.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient and humble servant,

"HENRY BROUGHAM."

"To the Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c."

Little could Lord Castlereagh have foreseen that, after having offered to serve under him, your Lordship's taste or feelings should have led you to proclaim to the world "that Lord Castlereagh's administration was as destitute of merit as possible." Let it not, however, be supposed that I bring this forward as matter of reproach; on the contrary, I consider the fact to be honourable to both parties, and especially, my Lord, to you; because, having borne a distinguished part in the discussions of the House of Commons which led to the revocation of the Orders in Council in 1806 and 1807, your Lordship (considering yourself as the most acceptable negotiator for settling the differences between the two countries) was willing to make every personal sacrifice, while you clearly implied that your appointment was not to be considered as affecting your principles as a public man.

The Treaty of Vienna was the crowning act of Lord Castlereagh's foreign administration. It was the full accomplishment of all those measures by which the war was brought to a close, and a long and glorious peace effected. For this gigantic and successful undertaking he was received by the House of Commons, on his return to England, with one unanimous outbreak of enthusiastic applause, altogether without example in the history of the British Senate. But, notwithstanding these great and felicitous public services, there seems to have been one special drawback in Lord Castlereagh's character, which can never be viewed with forgiveness by you, or by that party which his bold and manly course and constant vigilance kept out of power for so many years. This may account for much of the asperity with which his memory has been assailed.

After Lord Castlereagh had laid prostrate all his political opponents, by falsifying all their prophecies on the great question of the prudence of resisting, and the possibility of overturning the tyrant of the Continent, the evil genius of misrule, oppression, and revolutionary government abroad, he stood forth the steady and fearless champion of the opposite principles at home. He was the determined enemy of what was called *Reform* of Parliament, and of all new-fangled schemes for upsetting, under the fraudulent pretence of reconstructing, the English Constitution; he knew well what England had done without that reform, and he foresaw (again prophetically) what she might be driven to under the proposed changes. He always maintained that, in a representative government, the preponderance of property and high station was more conducive to order and general prosperity than that of mob-orators or needy adventurers. He thought that a certain number of nomination boroughs were far less perilous than double the number of corrupt constituencies; that legislative measures were more likely to prove good and advantageous in the hands of those who had a stake in the country than of those who had none. He was no friend to a system which was to be directed by men who had no other influence than what they could acquire by pandering to the low interests and lower passions of a misguided rabble. He knew that the Government of this country could be safely and successfully conducted only by an administration which enjoyed the decided and unequivocal confidence of Parliament and the Sovereign; and he would not lend his hand to hasten the day, when the two Houses of Parliament would necessarily be placed in a state of perpetual variance on questions of vital moment to the stability and repose of the Empire. Such were, I well know, the general bearings of his comprehensive mind.

For the partial disturbances of the great European scheme of 1814—1815, which have since ensued, neither Lord Castlereagh nor his policy can fairly be held responsible.

The Treaties of Vienna have been, it is true, succeeded by the revolution in Poland, and its final incorporation in the Empire of Russia; by revolution and civil wars in Spain; by

the same in Naples; by the separation of Holland and Belgium; by the three days of July in France; and by some territorial acquisitions on the part of Russia in the east of Europe. But I am confident, and I think not without sufficient reason, that some, if not all, of these disturbances and difficulties would have been averted, if the great Statesman who presided over the Treaty of Vienna had been spared to Europe and his country; and that they have been aggravated, if not originally caused, by a departure from his line of policy. I am, however, ready to admit that these events are in some measure alien from the immediate duties of an English minister—who, above all things, is, or should be, bound most jealously to refrain from intermeddling with the domestic policy of other governments, so long as it does not directly affect the security or interests of his own. Still, there is no doubt that these circumstances have shaken and impaired the stability of those alliances, which, under Lord Castlereagh's personal direction, would probably have remained intact and sacred. Nevertheless, the main purport and provisions of the Treaty of Vienna are still unchanged; no aggression has occurred on the part of any one of the Sovereigns who signed it, for the aggrandizement of the territory awarded to him by that Treaty: whilst all the deviations which have ensued are to be attributed to the partial and interested views of particular powers, (amongst which, perhaps, England is not the least guilty,) and of crude and fantastical notions of government, for the most part the offspring of the *first* French revolution, reproduced and reinforced by the *second*. Another cause is the juggling with the principle of non-intervention, which was one of the first principles professed by all our *present* governors, who, at the same time, seize upon every possible case that may occur, as an exception to their rule. This principle, however, in Lord Castlereagh, was no by-word to catch the applause of the moment, but one which honestly guided his whole career; for, to him, of all men, did not belong the habit of saying one thing and meaning another.

The Holy Alliance, again, is a further and favourite subject

for the detractors of my Brother, and one to which your Lordship has specifically alluded. It has been vulgarly spoken of as if it were *his* creation, and as if *he* sought to make use of it as a means of crushing the growing liberties of Continental Europe. A more unfounded or a more untenable assertion has never been made. The fact is, that this alliance, in its origin, had no other purpose than to unite the several powers of the Continent, who had reconquered their independence, in one common bond, as a safeguard against the recurrence of the dangers from which they had just escaped; and as a pledge, as well to remain satisfied with their own territories as to put down every attempt to encroach upon the apportionments and settlements that had been solemnly determined; and it was for these most proper and justifiable objects only, which may be stated in three words,—independence of nations, stability of governments, and peace in Europe,—that the accession of England was invited, and its modified and limited assent afterwards obtained.

The extension which the alliance may subsequently have received, for the suppression of rebellion or revolt, (the chief grounds for which revolts are rather to be sought in the inflammatory publications of the period, than in the conduct of the respective governments,) never met with any countenance or support from Lord Castlereagh. These were the domestic concerns of other States, which he thought to be foreign to the functions of a British minister; and with which, whether for good or evil, he had nothing to do, having neither the right nor the inclination to control the economy of the other powers of Europe. To maintain our own honour; to extend our own interests; to preserve our own rights; to secure public peace; to interfere in no domestic quarrels; to imbrue our hands in no civil wars; to prevent the oppression of the weak, and to restrain the aggression of the strong; to conduct ourselves loyally towards all our allies, and not to forfeit, by equivocal conduct, the high and pre-eminent position in which the administration to which HE belonged had placed his country at the close of the eventful war,—these were the great

leading principles of my lamented Brother's policy: and as they earned for him, at the time, the unlimited confidence of the Sovereign he served, the frank acknowledgment of all parties in Parliament, and the good-will and high estimation of every power and State in Europe, so they will, I trust, secure for him, in time to come, when the carping and jealous bickerings of the political partisan are forgotten, and when *History* shall faithfully perform her task, one of the highest and proudest stations among those whose services have proved a benefaction to our country.

I here conclude what I do not offer as a defence of my Brother, nor as anything like an adequate statement of his general merits, but merely as a protest and *caveat* against your Lordship's hasty, and, I willingly hope and believe, inconsiderate assertions. I trust that, in thus appealing from your Lordship's bias as a partisan to your judgment as an historian, I have not been betrayed into any personal disrespect, and that I have said no more than my peculiar position justifies; and, finally, I have only to express my earnest hope and confidence that the tribunal of the present generation, as well as that of Posterity, will try the cause on more impartial evidence than either that of a Brother or a rival.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Postscript.—Having prepared the foregoing sheets, it occurred to me that, as your Lordship's severest remarks applied to the measures of Lord Castlereagh's Foreign administration, it might be a proper course for me to submit my reply to the perusal and opinion of the Earl of Ripon, who was very confidentially and prominently engaged with my Brother in all the great transactions of that period. Lord Ripon has, in the handsomest manner, written me a letter, with full permission to make what use I please of its contents. Availing myself, therefore, of a document equally interesting to the present age and to Posterity, I add it to the other irrefragable documents which I have already inserted.

"Putney Heath, July 6th, 1839.

"My dear Lord Londonderry—I am very much obliged to you for permitting me to peruse the proof-sheets of your printed Letter to Lord Brougham; and I am sure that you will readily believe that few persons, not belonging to your Brother's family, can feel a deeper interest than I do in his character and reputation. Most ungrateful indeed should I be if it were otherwise. He it was who first introduced me into public life in 1809, not long after I came into Parliament; and, from that time to the day of his death, I received from him constant, unvaried, and most flattering marks of confidence and regard. There was, however, one particular occasion, which you may recollect, and to which I am desirous of referring, on which it was my lot to enjoy peculiar opportunities and means of watching and estimating the manner in which the duties of his high office were discharged. It was an occasion which demanded the exercise of no ordinary talents; for, whilst to the common observer the wonderful events which preceded it seemed to render smooth and easy the arrangements which were to follow, the course of policy which Lord Londonderry had to pursue was surrounded by extreme and complicated difficulties: I allude to his first mission to the Continent, at the close of 1813. He did me the honour to invite me to accompany him on that mission; and I travelled with him from the Hague to Basle, where he first came in contact with any of the ministers of the Allied Powers: and thence we proceeded to Langres, where the head-quarters of the grand army were established, and where the Allied Sovereigns, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, with their respective ministers, were assembled. I remained with him till near the close of the negotiations, which ended in the peace of Paris.

"During the course of this journey, he communicated to me confidentially and unreservedly the view which he took of the existing state of affairs, and of the mode in which he proposed to conduct the important business with which he was charged. I have, of course, no right to state in this letter anything

which passed between us as connected with his instructions from the Prince Regent; but you may well recollect that the real difficulties of that interesting period commenced when the great powers of Europe took the decisive resolution of conquering peace in the heart of France. It had been comparatively no difficult matter to unite them, in the summer of 1813, in the great object of driving France within the limits of the Rhine: a sense of common danger, a recollection of national injuries, and the humiliation to which the principal sovereigns and people of Germany had been exposed; an anxiety to repair the losses which they had sustained, and to regain the position from which some of them had been successively driven, led them to form an alliance, which, from its extent and its resources, gave every prospect of a successful result. The enthusiasm which brought them together in pursuit of this common and animating object, supported as it was by the councils and the aid of England, worked out with singular rapidity its successful result. Its first combined movement broke out in August, 1813; and, before the 1st of January, 1814, the French army was entirely expelled from Germany. The minds of all European statesmen were then directed to the consideration of those principles upon which the reconstruction of the European edifice was to be attempted, and the foundation of its future security to be laid. Any one who knows anything of the history of Europe, from the time of King William, and the grand alliance of his day, to the present time, may readily conceive that this was no easy problem to solve. The immediate pressure of the common danger being removed, views of individual interests necessarily grew up. Some would look to the recovery of what they had lost; some to the maintenance of what they had gained: some would think that the best chance of a durable settlement was the restoration of everything to the state in which Europe was placed in 1792, before the war of the French Revolution broke out; some would hold to the notion that such a return was impossible, or, if possible, unwise: some might deem that the peace of Europe would best be preserved by the adoption of some new and more popular

system of internal government in the different States; others would see in such a policy nothing but a source of future evils and general commotion. It was, in short, a state of things which could only be grappled with by a mind capable of a patient, calm, resolute, and enlightened contemplation of all the circumstances of the case; founding its views and hopes for the future upon an accurate historical survey of the past, and a practical appreciation of the present.

"In the course of our journey, Lord Londonderry developed to me the principles upon which he conceived that the expected negociations ought to be conducted and terminated; and, of whatever little value my testimony upon such a subject may be, I owe it to his memory to express my decided conviction that the views which he entertained were the natural and just dictates of an understanding competent to embrace all the great points of the complicated question which lay before him. It was not to be expected that, in a matter where so many separate interests were concerned, all his individual views could be worked out: but historical truth justifies me in saying that, although some points of the final arrangement were made the subject of Parliamentary criticism, the general feeling of Lord Londonderry's countrymen was that of unequivocal satisfaction with the result; and well do I remember, as if it were only yesterday, that, when he first entered the House of Commons, after his return from Paris, the whole body of the Commons of England rose from their seats upon his appearance, and greeted him with cordial acclamations. You and I well know how sensibly and deeply he felt this remarkable compliment.

"It would greatly exceed the reasonable limits of a letter, if I were to attempt to show, in detail, the grounds upon which I conceive that the approbation so expressed was fully deserved. But there are one or two circumstances connected with the period to which I have referred, which are so peculiarly illustrative of his personal character, and of the influence which he was enabled to acquire over those with whom he had to deal, that I cannot forbear from alluding to them.

"In the course of our journey from Frankfort to Basle, he stated to me that one of the great difficulties which he expected to encounter in the approaching negociations would arise from the want of an habitual, confidential, and free intercourse between the Ministers of the great Powers, *as a body;* and that many pretensions might be modified, asperities removed, and causes of irritation anticipated and met, by bringing the respective parties into unrestricted communications common to them all, and embracing, in confidential and united discussions, all the great points in which they were severally interested. No man was ever better calculated so to transact business himself, and to bring others to act with him in such a manner, than Lord Londonderry. The suavity and dignity of his manners, his habitual patience and self-command, his considerate tolerance of difference of opinion in others, all fitted him for such a task; whilst his firmness, when he knew he was right, in no degree detracted from the influence of his conciliatory demeanour. Nothing could answer more completely than this mode of proceeding; and I heard, at the time, from several of the eminent men with whom his discussions were thus carried on, that it conduced in every way not less to the precision and harmony than to the promptitude and energy of their decisions.

"I would also refer to another occasion, on which the vigour of Lord Londonderry's mind, in a moment of difficulty and hesitation, was attended with the most important results. You may remember the uneasiness which prevailed in the councils of the allied Cabinets, after the success with which Buonaparte, having repelled with great loss the isolated movements of Blucher's first march upon Paris, afterwards fell upon the advanced divisions of the grand army beyond the Seine. The spirit of the allied forces was somewhat damped, the population in the rear of their line of operations showed strong indications of a resolution to carry on a desultory guerilla war upon their communications, and the more timid advisers began to talk of the policy of retiring behind the Rhine. That such a step would have proved fatal to the success of the campaign was obvious; but it was no less obvious that some new course

of operations must be adopted, all the separate movements of the grand army, and of that commanded by Blucher, upon Paris, having hitherto failed in attaining that point. The fact was that, from his central position between the lines operated upon by those armies, Napoleon was enabled to fall with his main strength upon each of them separately; and, as at that moment they were not *both* of them *singly* equal in force to his concentrated means, the advantage was greatly on his side; and he well knew how to avail himself of it. The army commanded by Blucher was much inferior in numbers to that commanded by Prince Schwarzenberg; and the thing to be done, therefore, was to reinforce Blucher to such an extent as to insure the success of his future movements, as far as numbers could insure it. No time was to be lost. But from whence were the reinforcements to be drawn? There was nothing immediately at hand but a small body of Russians under General St. Priest, who were on their march to Rheims to join the corps to which they belonged in Blucher's army; and they were manifestly insufficient for the purpose. But there were two other strong corps; one of Prussians under General Bulow, and one of Russians under Winzingerode, who were on their march into France from Flanders, and might be brought forward with decisive effect. They, however, belonged to the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden, who had not, I think, at that time, personally crossed the Rhine; they were under his orders, and he was very tenacious of his authority over them: and, when it was suggested that the only mode of adequately reinforcing Blucher was to place these corps at his disposal without a moment's delay, the difficulty of withdrawing them from Bernadotte's command, without a previous and probably tedious discussion with him, was urged by a great authority as *insurmountable*. Lord Londonderry was present at the council when this matter was discussed: and, the moment he understood that, militarily speaking, the proposed plan was indispensable to success, he took his line. He stated that, in that case, the plan *must* be adopted, and the necessary orders *immediately* given; that England had a right to expect that

her allies would not be deterred from a decisive course by any such difficulties as had been urged; and he boldly took upon himself all the responsibility of any consequences that might arise as regarded the Crown Prince of Sweden. His advice prevailed; Blucher's army was reinforced in time; the battle of Laon was fought successfully, and no further efforts of Buonaparte could oppose the march of the allies on Paris, and their triumphant occupation of that city.

"It is not, then, too much to say, that the vigour and energy displayed by Lord Londonderry in this crisis decided the fate of the campaign. And, had he been an ordinary man, without the talent to discern what the exigency of the moment required, without capacity to enforce its adoption, or without that influence over others which ensured their cordial co-operation, who can say how different the result might have been, or how long the pacification of the world might have been delayed!

"Excuse me for troubling you with so long a letter; and believe me, my dear Lord Londonderry,

"Ever most truly yours,

"RIPON."

The publication of the preceding Letter to Lord Brougham brought me numerous communications from distinguished persons, some of which have too close a relation to the purpose for which it was written, not to be introduced here.

Sir Robert Peel to the Marquess of Londonderry.

Whitehall, July 23, 1839.

My dear Lord Londonderry—After my return from the House of Commons last night, I read your letter to Lord Brougham. I think you were perfectly right in noticing his unjust estimate of the character and abilities of Lord Londonderry, and I think also you have noticed it in the most effectual manner by maintaining throughout that dispassionate and

temperate tone which is much more becoming to the occasion, and makes a much deeper impression, than irritation or vehemence, however natural or justifiable. You well know that no vindication of your Brother's memory was necessary for my satisfaction,—that my admiration of his character is too firmly rooted to be shaken by criticisms or phrases, and cavils at particular acts selected from a long political career. I doubt whether any public man (with the exception of the Duke of Wellington) who has appeared within the last half century, possessed that combination of qualities, intellectual and moral, which would have enabled him to effect under the same circumstances what Lord Londonderry did effect in regard to the Union with Ireland, and to the great political transactions of 1813, 1814, and 1815. To do these things required a rare union of high and generous feelings, courteous and prepossessing manners, a warm heart and a cool head, great temper, great industry, great fortitude, great courage, moral and personal, that command and influence which makes other men willing instruments, and all these qualities combined with the disdain for low objects of ambition, and with spotless integrity. It is not flattering to say your Brother had these qualifications, and that, by them and the proper use of them, he overcame practically difficulties which would have appalled and overwhelmed almost every other cotemporary statesman. I need only call to mind the one I have already named.

Believe me, my dear Lord Londonderry,
Most faithfully yours,
ROBERT PEEL.

The Marquess Wellesley to the Marquess of Londonderry.

Kingston House, July 24, 1839.

My dear Lord—Accept my best acknowledgments for your obliging attention in sending me a copy of your Letter, which I have read with great attention. It is complete in all its parts, and, in my judgment, unanswerable.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours most sincerely,
WELLESLEY.

The Earl of Aberdeen to the Marquess of Londonderry.

Argyll House, July 24, 1839.

My dear Londonderry—I have only now been able to read your answer to Lord Brougham, a copy of which you had the goodness to send me the night before last. You may recollect when you first mentioned your intentions to me, I had some misgivings on the subject. I feared that it might lead to an angry and painful correspondence with Lord Brougham; and although no man differed more entirely than I did from his estimate of your Brother's character, I thought, considering his political and party prejudices, that his work was much more impartial than could have been expected. I still think that this is the case; but I most cordially rejoice that you have persevered in your address, for you have executed your task most admirably. With much feeling, taste, and judgment, you have touched the principal events of your Brother's life, and have placed them in a light as advantageous as it is just and true. You must be so thoroughly aware of my affection for the memory of your Brother, as well as of my respect for his character, that you will have no difficulty in giving me credit for the sincere pleasure with which I have read your vindication of his conduct. I believe it may be said with truth that few men have ever deserved so highly of their country, and I am sure that none could ever more effectually secure the love and attachment of their friends. Having experienced his friendship for so many years, not only in my own person, but in those also most nearly connected with me, I have always felt, and shall ever feel, the warmest interest in every thing which can affect his name and reputation.

Believe me, my dear Londonderry,

Most sincerely yours,

ABERDEEN.

Benjamin Disraeli, Esq., to the Marquess of Londonderry.

July 24, 1839.

My dear Lord—I have just read your Letter to Lord Brougham, and I cannot deny myself the sincere pleasure of

congratulating you on the publication of what is not only a very spirited yet dignified vindication of your eminent relative's memory, but is an extremely interesting and valuable contribution to our political and historical literature. The style is worthy of the theme—fluent, yet sustained—and the sarcasm polished and most felicitous.

It will make a considerable sensation; and, if only for the original documents which it contains, will often be referred to. I assure you, my dear Lord, I cannot easily express with what entire satisfaction I have perused this well-timed appeal to that public opinion which has been too long abused on the character and career of a great statesman.

I am, my dear Lord,

Ever your obliged and faithful

B. Disraeli.

Sir James Graham to the Marquess of Londonderry.

Grosvenor Place, July 27, 1839.

My dear Lord Londonderry—I am very much obliged by your present of the copy of your answer to Lord Brougham. It is a tribute justly due to the memory of your Brother, on whose services and talents you have bestowed no exaggerated praise, and in whose vindication you have evinced those feelings and that spirit which the occasion fully justifies. No political opponent, whom your Brother honoured by admission into his private society, and no leader of a party, was ever so generous towards his adversaries in this particular. I never can forget the charm of his amiable manners and of his noble nature. I, indeed, should be ungrateful if I did not recollect his kindness, and rejoice in the success with which you have rescued his fair fame from an unjust attack. History, I am persuaded, will be more just than his cotemporaries, and he is not the first great man over whose tomb has been written—"*Ingrata Patria.*"

I am, my dear Lord, yours very faithfully,

James Graham.

Sir Charles Wetherell to the Marquess of Londonderry.

August 1, 1839.

My dear Lord—I can assure you I have been much gratified by the perusal of your Letter. It is a perfect wet blanket thrown over the hasty and ill-judged Biographical Sketch of a noble and learned lord. Had this Biographical *Lark* proceeded from Lord Brougham before poor Eldon's departure, you would have naturally sent your Letter to him to ask for his accordance to your *contre-projet*, as you did to Lord Ripon for his review of it. I know quite well what Eldon thought of your Brother, though they differed upon the Catholic question. There never lived a more *just*, *candid*, and *impartial* man than Eldon in appreciating the merits of those who agreed with or differed from him, of those with whom he acted, or to whom he was opposed, foe or friend. Eldon also has come under the censorship of the noble and learned Biographical Sketch writer, and has, in many respects, been treated not much more fairly than your Brother. The latter part of Lord Ripon's letter gives me an opportunity of communicating to you the precise language in which Eldon spoke to me of the services of your Brother in keeping the Allies to the point at the moment when concentration in their proceedings was most wanted. I remember as well as yesterday meeting Eldon the morning when the despatches came over, giving an account of the battle of Laon. I met him in the passage near the Chancellor of the Exchequer's house, in Downing Street, going into the Park. We walked together through the Park; he was in the highest spirits, and said, "I have been to the Foreign Office, on purpose to read over the despatches at my leisure;" he then said, with the energy which you well recollect he used when his mind was intent upon any idea, "*We are indebted to Castlereagh for everything.* I verily believe that *no man* in ENGLAND but Castlereagh could have done what he has." These *ipsissima verba* of poor Eldon, with the time and place where they were spoken, are impressed upon my memory as accurately as if they had occurred in

July, 1839. These expressions are a sample of that sort of testimony which the members of the Cabinet in which your Brother sat must have given *in common justice* to him, as to his most eminent services at this crisis. I hope you will do (as you seemed to intimate), and write a life of your Brother, giving at large the details of those large and memorable transactions in which he took so conspicuous a part: your materials, and other opportunities in your exclusive possession, would enable you to produce a most valuable and important work, and a better history of those times than any other writer could compose.

Believe me, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,

CHARLES WETHERELL.

Though this series of honourable testimonials might be extended to a very great length by those of the most distinguished members of the British Cabinet, during Lord Castlereagh's official career in Ireland, yet, as they will be hereafter given entire among the original papers constituting the mass of this work, I shall close them for the present with one of more recent date, relating to the period of Lord Castlereagh's and his country's greatest triumph—that of the downfall of its most implacable foe.

Lord Harrowby to the Marquess of Londonderry.

Grosvenor Square, September 9, 1839.

My dear Lord—I fear you must have thought me very negligent in not returning an earlier answer to your flattering request, that I would recall to your memory a couple of anecdotes which I happened to mention to you in the House of Lords. In truth, I feel some reluctance in recurring to them in a more formal manner, as my relating them at all was rather a little ebullition of personal vanity on my part, than any sense of their political importance. All the bother of pre-

paration for a foreign tour of some months, a necessary visit, and my own daily cares, have made it all but impossible for me to write sooner; and, as I cannot reconcile it to myself to leave England with an ungracious negative, I am taking a few minutes before I get into my carriage this afternoon, to comply with your wishes.

I cannot recollect dates; but it was at the time when you, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Cathcart, were accredited to the three Sovereigns: it was mooted in cabinet, I think, by Lord Castlereagh, (as you were each of you accredited to a separate Sovereign) whether it would not be desirable, in order to carry the full weight of the British Government to bear upon the counsels of the assembled Sovereigns, that some one person should be appointed, who might speak in its name to them all. The notion was approved; and, after the cabinet was over, Castlereagh called me into his private room, and proposed the mission to me. I was, of course, highly flattered by such a proposal from such a person; but I had not a moment's hesitation in telling him that I had tried my hand unsuccessfully in a somewhat similar mission to Berlin, when I had also been accredited to the two Emperors, with general directions to all our ministers upon the Continent to follow my instructions, as the regular communication was interrupted by winter; that I had found myself quite incompetent to the task which had half killed me; and that I could not think of sacrificing myself, with the probability of sacrificing also the interest of my country; that I thought the measure highly advisable, but that there was one person only who could execute it, and that person was himself. He started at first: How could he, as Secretary of State, undertake it?—the thing was unheard-of. I then told him that it was not strictly true that it had never been done—that Lord Bolingbroke went to Paris in a diplomatic capacity when Secretary of State—and that though, in that case, the precedent was not a good one, it was still a precedent, and I rather believed there were more. In the present instance, it appeared clear that no man but the foreign Secretary of State himself could combine the efforts of the ambas-

sadors upon the spot, who could not be expected to follow with cordiality the suggestions of any but their own official superior. The conclusion to which this conversation led was that he said he would talk it over with Liverpool; and the consequence was that the next day, or the day afterwards, his mission was decided.

On his triumphant return to England, I called upon him to say that he might indeed consider himself as the saviour of Europe, but that I was doubly so; first, because I refused to go myself, and, still more, because I made him go.

I have scrawled on (can you read it?) because I had talked on, and I understand you to wish not only for the fact, but the particulars which are as present to my mind as if they had occurred yesterday. Now for my other service in the dark.

After the attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington at Paris, the Government was naturally most anxious to get him away. But how?—under whatever pretext it might be veiled, he would still call it running away, to which he was not partial—but, when Castlereagh was obliged to leave Vienna, in order to attend his duty in Parliament, I was fortunate enough to suggest that the Duke should be sent to replace him, and that would be a command which he could not refuse to obey. When I mentioned this to the Duke, just after I left you, for I was then quite full of the memory of my little exploits, he quite agreed that if he had been at Paris on the return of Buonaparte to France, it would have been highly probable that they would have seized him. Small events are great to little men; and it is not nothing to have contributed in the smallest degree to the success of the Congress at Vienna—(nor was it *then* so called) and of the subsequent campaign, and to the saving of the Duke for Waterloo.

Excuse the length of my scrawl (can you read it?)—I have not time to make it shorter, or more legible.

Very truly yours,

HARROWBY.

The following letter is added here as a tribute of the respect and feelings of a formidable political rival, particularly in the measure of the Union:—

Mr. Plunket to the Marquess of Londonderry.

Stephen's Green, December 2, 1823.

My Lord—I have the honour of acknowledging your Lordship's letter of this morning, and the enclosures contained in it. Your Lordship does me no more than justice in estimating the feelings with which the memory of the late Marquess of Londonderry affects and must ever affect my mind. His friendship and confidence were the prime causes which induced his Majesty's Government to desire my services; and I can truly add that my unreserved reliance on the cordiality of his feelings towards me, joined to my perfect knowledge of the wisdom and liberality of all his public objects and opinions, were the principal causes which induced me to accept the honour which was proposed to me. Nothing can ever occur to me in political life so calamitous as the event which, in common with all his country and Europe, I so deeply deplore.[1]

In addition to the foregoing testimonies of the leading characters of this country, relative to the merits and greatness of Lord Castlereagh as a statesman, my attention has been called to a work on the Diplomatists of Europe by a French writer, M. Capefigue; and a friend of mine has furnished me with a criticism upon it, which, in justice to the valuable opinions of the writer, I cannot but annex.

I must, however, premise that, having referred to the work of M. de Capefigue myself, while I render him the gratitude that becomes me for the sketch

[1] The remainder of the letter relates to a private point.

which he has given of my Brother, I cannot but deprecate all that trifling tittle-tattle, history of amours, &c. admitted into his volume, which, to my certain knowledge, are entirely the chimera of the brain of some person employed by the author to pick up tales to amuse the ladies or the light readers of his interesting work. My very able, critical young friend says:—

The sketch of Lord Castlereagh is the finest in the volume. So much obloquy was heaped upon this great statesman, during the closing years of his life, by the Revolutionists whom he held in restraint, and the eager place-hunters whom he kept out of office, that people are only *now* beginning to recognise the loftiness of his character, the superiority of his mind, and the immense and inappreciable benefits which he conferred on his country. He was a man of fixed and firm ideas; and hence the hatred with which he was regarded, and the abuse that the *rabble* heaped upon him. It was because he stood immoveable in his sentiments as the rock which breasts the ocean, that the waves of popular discontent dashed so fiercely against him, and covered him with the foam of their fruitless rage. Had he yielded, had he withdrawn, he might have escaped the malignant calumnies incessantly poured forth against him; but his character was too noble for concession when he felt that his course was right, and in the end his ideas triumphed. He carried against *all* opposition the Irish Union, which never could have been carried but for his firmness and his talents, but which politicians of all parties are now compelled to recognise as one of the boldest and wisest measures of the present century, and one which no inducement on earth will ever cause the country to revoke. His firmness and constancy mainly contributed to the downfall of Napoleon. His sagacity discerned the error of the *Elba Emperorship*, but his honesty refused the slightest interference with his conduct while he remained quietly there; and at last *his* genius sug-

gested that Island prison, of all spots in the world the fittest for the confinement of so turbulent a spirit—the rock of St. Helena.

When the distresses and discontent produced by the peace, and the re-action of the popular mind, threatened such serious dangers to England, he stood forth the worthy successor of Pitt, to save his country from the perils of anarchy.

The character of Lord Castlereagh is certainly here finely displayed by M. de Capefigue, who is, I believe, the first eminent writer that has ever done full justice to this great but much maligned statesman. Speaking of the riots in the manufacturing districts, and of Lord Byron's foul abuse of the Minister, M. de Capefigue asks "If England was to be allowed to perish to please the poets?" Of Lord Castlereagh's home Government, he says:—

The Treaty of 1815 had hardly been signed before a formidable conspiracy of radicalism in arms arose in England; not merely easily suppressed riots, but bodies of 100,000 men, who broke the power-looms, and pillaged the houses, and the ancient aristocracy appeared threatened with the most imminent danger. Yet, such is the spirit of order in that country, and the reliance to be placed upon the English population, that these tumults were not attended with danger. On this occasion, the firm repressive spirit of Lord Castlereagh was fully manifested. Without hesitation, he demanded from Parliament the suspension of all liberty, even of the Habeas Corpus, that powerful security of the English citizen. The troops, ordered to act vigorously against the rioters, showed no compassion, because there appeared no limit to the disturbances. How many accusations were brought against Lord Castlereagh after the riots at Manchester and Birmingham! The pamphlet published on the occasion represented him as the butcher of human victims; and Lord Byron wrote some lines on the cold impassiveness of his countenance. Was

England to be allowed to perish to please the poets?—or were the designs of housebreakers and destroyers of machinery to be seconded?

The Minister only did his duty as a statesman. He saved society, and what do people want more? He did it even at the peril of his fame—a great sacrifice for those who devote themselves to the preservation of order in the midst of disorder. Very vigorous bills were passed on the application of the Minister against foreigners, and against the instigators of the disturbances, and he undertook, in Parliament, the painful task of obtaining repressive measures. In England, there are resources even in times of the greatest danger, because there exists a race of statesmen, "*the Tories*," who never give way to popular clamour, and in the most formidable riot a degree of respect for the laws is still felt, and the people submit to the summons of the constable.

M. de Capefigue does justice to Lord Castlereagh also on other points—to his high and chivalrous character, to his eminent patriotism, to his scorn of senseless clamour, to his courtly and graceful manners, and, above all, to his genius in fixing the foundations of the peace of 1815, which has been of such inestimable advantage to the whole civilized world. Lord Castlereagh belongs to the same class as Metternich, Nesselrode, and Pozzo di Borgo; and the lustre of his fame (only now beginning to be rightly estimated) will endure when the very names of his traducers have sunk into merited obscurity.

Although these latter sentiments are dictated by a Brother who cherished for him the most unbounded and devoted admiration and affection, he feels convinced that they are neither overcharged nor misplaced.

The late Lord Londonderry, at an early period of his political career, made his will; and, it appears, never altered it. One of the executors was the late George Holford, Esq., M.P., a most particular friend from his early life, and a man for whom he deservedly entertained the highest esteem and affection; the other was his professional adviser, the late William Groom, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Fields. At the decease of the testator, to these gentlemen belonged all his Papers, private and public. The first Marquess of Londonderry had by will bequeathed all his personals to his eldest son; and, by his eldest son's disposition before his father's death, the chattels, interest, papers, &c., did not descend in the regular succession. It happened, therefore, that the executors above mentioned, instead of handing the papers, public and private, to the heir-at-law, placed them under the control of the Court of Chancery, with a view of exonerating themselves from responsibility, in case any of the documents could be claimed by the Government of the country. Various delays took place before I was enabled to bring the question to an issue, as to my positive right, as heir-at-law, to all these documents. At length, by the indefatigable perseverance and sound judgment of Mr. Farrer, the Master in Chancery, and by the highly honourable and straightforward decision of Lord Palmerston, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the Lord Chancellor Cottenham, a great mass of Papers, public and private, was delivered over to me. On examination of the documents, I regret to say that I discovered many

chasms and losses; and that, in consequence, it will be extremely difficult to make a regular and connected detail of the most complicated and interesting events to which they refer, as well as to place the chief actor in the position in which it is but justice that Posterity should view him. But my part is to do my best, and not to shrink from the difficulties before me.

In regard to the Biography of my lamented Brother, including a connected narrative of his public transactions, which is comprehended in the plan of this collection, I did hope that my task might be reduced to little more than a discreet and judicious selection from such materials and documents as were in my possession; but a wholly unforeseen accident has deprived me of that intimate fraternal correspondence for twenty-five successive years, which would have formed the most important part of any work I could have offered to the public. On returning from my Embassy to Vienna, many years since, I placed this collection in the hands of the Rev. S. Turner, who was at that time nominated and going out as Bishop of Calcutta. This excellent and invaluable divine and friend had been tutor to my son, Castlereagh; and, feeling a deep interest in the family, he had undertaken to arrange these Papers, and to commence the Life of the late Marquess of Londonderry, aided by various other documents and information which he had collected. The vessel, however, that sailed for India with Mr. Turner's baggage, effects, papers, &c., was unfortunately wrecked; and thus ended all my hopes, at that period, of leaving for Posterity such

a record of the Statesman and the Brother as I felt that he deserved. I suggested the idea of writing his Life to Mr. Turner alone: it was he who applied to Sir Walter Scott on the subject; and Sir Walter's reasons for declining the task have already been given in the letter from him, inserted in my pamphlet in answer to Lord Brougham.

If, then, the preceding biographical particulars are, as I am sensible they are, not so complete and satisfactory as they might be expected to be, coming from one who is fully aware of his incompetency to do justice to the subject of them, he must crave indulgence for any deficiencies that may be perceived in them, on the plea of a double disappointment, which deprived him not only of the assistance of an accomplished and eminent writer and compiler, but also of the very materials on which the work was to be founded.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1798.

The year 1798 was incontestably the most important of any in the modern annals of Ireland, both on account of the events which actually occurred in it, and for those which immediately flowed from them as almost natural consequences. That turbulent spirit which unfortunately pervades the character of its people had for many preceding years kept the country in a state of dangerous ferment, and made it a scene of commotion, outrage, and bloodshed. The mass of the population was divided into hostile associations, inflamed against each other by animosities, political and religious. The combination of Catholics of the lower order, who called themselves Defenders, produced that of the Orangemen, for the protection of Protestant interests. At length, persons of a higher class of society, assuming the appellation of United Irishmen, joined, to form a new system, dark and deeply planned, for collecting those discordant elements into one great conspiracy, for the treasonable purpose of overturning the Government, and, with

the assistance of France, separating Ireland from the British Empire, and erecting it into an independent Republic.

Disappointed of French co-operation, partly by accidents of weather, partly by the indefatigable vigilance, skill, and exertions of our naval forces, the Directors of the Society at length resolved to defy single-handed the whole power of the Government, when their plans were totally deranged by means of their disclosure. Thomas Reynolds, a silk-mercer of Dublin, a Catholic, having retired from business, and purchased an estate in the County of Kildare, had joined the United Irishmen, and been appointed a Colonel, also treasurer and representative for his County, and provincial delegate for Leinster. This man was induced, in the month of March, to reveal all that he knew of the designs of his associates to the Irish Government; the consequence was, the apprehension of four members of the Executive Directory, as it was called, after that of France: Arthur O'Connor, Oliver Bond, Dr. M'Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmet. Lord Edward Fitzgerald escaped.

A new Directory was soon appointed, and betrayed, in like manner, by a Captain Armstrong, of an Irish militia regiment, who feigned to enter into the conspiracy. The brothers, John and Henry Sheares, two of the new Directors, were apprehended on the 21st of May; Samuel Neilson and many more on the 23d. The night of that day had been fixed by the conspirators for commencing operations; but Government, having full information of their schemes, proclaimed

Dublin in a state of insurrection, placed triple guards at all important posts, and effectually secured the metropolis from the intended attack.

Though the prime conductors of the conspiracy were in prison, the inferior agents ventured to proceed to the execution of the design. Baffled at the metropolis, the attempts of their bands, provided with scarcely any arms but clumsy pikes, were chiefly confined to small country towns. Till the middle of July, civil war, in its most hideous form, ravaged some of the western counties, particularly Wicklow and Wexford. The sanguinary scenes enacted there, not by rebels only, but by the King's forces also, were most disgraceful to both parties; but what to me appears to be particularly striking in the atrocities recorded by historians is the detestable ingratitude which appears so frequently in the conduct of the lower Irish as almost to make one doubt whether attachment or kindly feeling for benefits received find any place in the national character.

Amidst the confusion incident to this struggle, the Marquess Cornwallis was selected to succeed Earl Camden as Lord Lieutenant, and he arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June. His high military reputation, and civil administration of India, pointed him out as peculiarly qualified for combining the command of the army with the general government of the kingdom. The first measure which he adopted was to offer by Proclamation, on the 3d of July, his Majesty's pardon to all rebels who should surrender, and deliver up their arms, before a certain

day. Some of the most notorious offenders in custody were tried by a special commission, condemned, and executed. Among these were John and Henry Sheares, M'Cann, Byrne, and others. Oliver Bond, who was condemned on the 23d of July, had strong interest made to save his life, especially by his fellow-prisoners of the Executive Directory, who, on condition that it should be spared, agreed to make a full confession to Government of all their treasonable designs. That confession will be found in this Volume. Bond was accordingly pardoned, but died soon afterwards in prison. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, apprehended on the 19th of May in Dublin, died in Newgate on the 4th of June, from the effect of a wound received in the desperate resistance which he made. Some of the most determined of the rebels continued to lurk about the mountains of Wicklow and Wexford; but they finally disappeared after Hacket was killed, and Holt surrendered for transportation. Respecting the proceedings of the rebel Irish emigrants in Paris and on the Continent, very interesting details obtained by the British Government, from unknown sources, will be found in this Volume.

The next great event of the year 1798 was the sudden and unexpected landing of a body of French troops, under General Humbert, at Killala, in the County of Mayo, on the 22d of August. Their number did not exceed 1,100 men; but their commander, making amends for its smallness by the decision and rapidity of his movements, advanced to Castlebar, and gained an advantage over General Lake. After this

partial success, the invaders were joined by many of the Irish peasantry. Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis, sensible of the danger, notwithstanding the inferior force of the enemy, marched in person, at the head of a formidable army, to meet the invaders, and pressed them so closely, that, on the 8th of September, Humbert was obliged to capitulate at Ballynamuck. The public was astonished to learn that the whole remainder of a force which had excited so much alarm amounted to 844. The prisoners were ordered by the Government to be forwarded immediately to London, to be set at liberty, and to be sent home without exchange.

The little army of Humbert had been intended as the vanguard only of a much more formidable force. On the 16th of September, a brig from France arrived at the little Isle of Rutland, on the north-west coast of Donegal, and landed her crew, including James Napper Tandy, one of the Irish rebel emigrants, now invested with the rank of General of Brigade in the French service. Astonished to learn the surrender of Humbert, they re-embarked, and quitted the coast of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards taken at Hamburg, and tried at Lifford assizes in 1801; he pleaded guilty, was condemned, but permitted to emigrate to France, where he died soon afterwards.

At length, on the 11th of October, the principal French armament appeared off the coast of Donegal. It consisted of one ship of the line, the Hoche, and eight frigates, with four or five thousand troops. Pursued on the following day by the squadron of Sir

John Borlase Warren, the Hoche and six of the frigates were taken. Another squadron of three frigates, with 2000 land troops, destined to co-operate with the former, anchored in the bay of Killala on the 27th of the same month; but, on the appearance of some English ships, sheered off precipitately for France, and escaped pursuit. On board the Hoche was found Theobald Wolf Tone, who had distinguished himself by his zeal and talents in the Society of the United Irish. He was tried by a court-martial in Dublin, where he neither denied nor excused his crime, but rested his defence on being a citizen of France and an officer in the service of that country. Being condemned, he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being hanged as a felon; and, on its refusal, he cut his throat in prison, and died of the wound on the 19th of November.

The mischief sustained by the country from this unnatural contest is incalculable. The number of lives lost in it was computed at 30,000. Soon after the commencement of the insurrection, the sum of £100,000 was voted by the Irish House of Commons for the immediate relief of such refugees as should appear to be destitute of the means of subsistence, and a most respectable body of commissioners superintended its distribution in sums not exceeding £50 each. The Government afterwards extended its views to the compensation of loyalists, the total of whose claims amounted to £1,023,000, of which £515,000 belonged to the County of Wexford. "The estimates were, on the whole, in my opinion," says the Rev. James Gor-

don,[1] "so moderate as not to exceed two-thirds of the reality. A million may be moderate for the losses of people who, barred from compensation, sent no estimates. Thus, the whole detriment may not have fallen far short of even three millions." The same writer justly observes that, in addition to the loss of life and property, we must take into account the suspension of industry, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit, and, above all, the depravation of morals, to comprehend the extent of the damage sustained by an outburst so rash and so preposterous, if the means be compared with the end proposed, as to appear the suggestion of downright insanity.

From the Papers towards the conclusion of 1798, it will be seen with what warmth the Governments of both countries, enlightened by the experience of the past events of the year, had seized the idea of an incorporation of the two Islands into one Empire by a Legislative Union. Such a measure had been proposed, in 1703 and 1707, by the Irish Peers, in addresses to Queen Anne; but their wishes were coldly received, and no further notice was taken of them. When, in process of time, the nation acquired importance through the interference of the volunteers, and its Parliament was declared independent in 1782, the British Cabinet earnestly wished for incorporation; but the idea had long ceased to be palatable to the Peers, and had always been unpopular, indeed, odious to the Commons and to the mass of the people.

[1] In his History of Ireland, ii., 463.

After two such escapes as the nation had just had, from the horrors of rebellion in the first place, and from those of invasion in the next, the British administration conceived that the time was at length come for proposing the measure of Union with some chance of success, confident, at least, that it would not run the risk of rejection by the sterling good sense of the English Parliament; and preparations were immediately made for introducing it to public discussion in Ireland, previously to its being submitted to the Legislature. A pamphlet, entitled "Arguments for and against a Union between Great Britain and Ireland," written by Mr. Cooke, under-secretary of State in the Civil department, one of the most able and distinguished public servants that Ireland ever had, and subsequently for many years under-secretary of State in England, was published under the auspices of Government. This was regarded as an expression of the sentiments of administration in favour of the measure; and such a flame of controversy was kindled that not fewer than thirty pamphlets on the subject were published in Ireland before the end of the year, besides the vehement contest incessantly kept up in the newspapers till the final decision. I shall again quote the reverend historian:

The nation became divided anew into two parties, the Unionists and Anti-unionists, in each of which were indiscriminately ranged Royalists, Croppies, Orangemen, and Catholics. Counties, corporations, and other aggregate bodies were summoned to declare their opinions. The lawyers were mostly Anti-unionists, as their practice at the Irish bar would exclude them from sitting in Parliament in England by the impossibility of their

attendance in both. In the assembly of these, held in Dublin on the 9th of December, a resolution was voted, by a majority of 166 against 42, that the measure of a Legislative Union was an innovation of highly dangerous and improper proposal at the present juncture. To the citizens of Dublin the subject was not less interesting. That their city would be degraded from the dignity of a metropolis, when Ireland should have ceased to be a kingdom, and impoverished by the removal of the expenditure made every year in it by members of Parliament and their followers, was matter of serious alarm. Resolutions of similar import to that of the lawyers were voted on the 17th of December, by a post-assembly of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, commons, and citizens, and, on the following day, by the bankers and merchants. To gain proselytes throughout the kingdom no exertions were omitted by either party, but the general tenour of public declarations was adverse to a union; and language was used on some occasions expressive nearly of defiance and sedition.

Such were the elements with which Lord Castlereagh, who was specially charged by his situation with the conduct of this measure, had to contend, which required, as we shall see, for the next year and a half, the exertion of no ordinary energies, perseverance, and address.

The two letters with which the Correspondence commences are more of a private and family character than the generality of those in the following multifarious series; but, being of the oldest date in my possession and of some interest, I hesitate not to introduce them.

Lord Bayham[1] *to the Hon. Robert Stewart.*

Berkeley Square, February 4, 1793.

Dear Robert—I very little deserve the indulgence and the information you have given me, having neither acknowledged the receipt of your two excellent letters, nor informed you of the impression the state of your country makes in this. I am sorry to confess my ideas upon the subject are very gloomy; and I have no conception, in these times, when rights are pushed to the utmost extremity, and reform knows no bounds, of giving to any nation, and less to one of the description of yours, whose characteristic is certainly not moderation, the sort of latitude which the questions about to take place in Ireland will give them. I inherit, and upon consideration am clearly of my father's opinion, that Ireland must be our province, if she will not be persuaded to a Union; and, if she would, she ought and would enjoy complete and reciprocal benefits with this country. This is my opinion; but, in the present state of politics there, it would be dangerous either to maintain that opinion, or to act in consequence of it; and the desirable thing *at present* is to quiet and to satisfy the minds of the moderate men, such as you and your father, and a few others; for you give a credit to those of a more violent disposition, who will unite with you till you are alarmed, and will then have gained strength and consequence enough to do without you. At the same time that we in England give you this *satisfaction*, we should take great care not to give from ourselves that degree of command and influence in Ireland, which is essential to both your prosperity and our consequence. The reform of Parliament must now be carried, and, if it can be done, with moderation. I am by no means sure it may be

[1] Lord Bayham succeeded to the honours of his father, Earl Camden, in April, 1794. His sister, it will be recollected, was second wife of the first Lord Londonderry, and the revered and accomplished mother of the writer, the present Lord L.

attended with advantages, but I think it ought to be undertaken (if it is possible to bring them together) with the joint efforts of both the governments and the opposition ; that, if it is possible to persuade the House to adjourn that consideration for six weeks or two months, that time should be employed in forming with the landed gentlemen a plan, which they should bind themselves to support, and not suffer their violent and heated imaginations to rush beyond such a limit. This measure should certainly be carried by the House of Commons themselves, and, for the sake of the country more than its own, Government should be suffered to take her share in the measure. I think county meetings should be as much discouraged as possible, for the Parliament will then gain no *credit*, to gain which for them in future is the best argument for the measure. In consideration of this acquisition that you will gain, I think a Militia should be supported, and every possible exertion made to disembody the Volunteers ; and I am particularly sorry to see, at the end of the County of Down resolutions, signed by Mr. Forde, thanks to the Volunteers, and expressions of disapprobation of a Militia.

As the Protestants will then be indulged, the Roman Catholics must, from their numbers and the promises they have received, have some concessions ; and, if you give a certain latitude to them of voting for members, the *intelligible* grievance of having no representation will be done away, and I should hope they would be indulged no farther, and upon no account be suffered to sit in the House of Commons. I think, too, you should have a Place Bill, and the Pension List ought to be stinted. A Responsibility Bill, if it is thought of, should certainly not reach to the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary, for it would be too dangerous to trust the lives and the characters of Englishmen to the prejudice (*which is not unnatural*) of an Irish country justice. I am afraid you will think me, on the other hand, a very prejudiced Englishman ; but, though I am so, I cannot see any way out of the present difficulties

without several of the concessions I have mentioned; but they should be continued to be given upon a good understanding between the two countries, and between our Government there and the Irish interests; for if they are to be continually engaging with each other, the triumphs and the disappointments on each side will only serve to exasperate them, and tear the country to pieces. If Lord Westmorland has too much spirit to submit to a change of measures, or from any other cause is to be recalled, I trust another man may be found equally attentive to English interests, and more conciliatory to the Irish feeling.

I have given you my opinions, very ill worth your having, upon Irish politics. I fear you will think them given in a more dictatorial and dogmatical way than becomes one as little experienced as I am, and who have no authority to quote, and merely mention the impression which it made upon my mind. I believe we look to the same end. I am not sure the means we should use are very dissimilar, though the motives are very different; and I confess I should be much better pleased if you did not make use of our alarming situation as the means of gaining your ends. I hope you will, consistently with your Irish situation, be as moderate as you can, as I really think much depends upon persons of your description acting honourably and coolly.

Pitt made one of his most eloquent and forcible speeches on Friday, and the House was eager, to the greatest degree, to express their readiness, and almost an anxiety for war, which appears inevitable. It seems as if we were each waiting for an opportunity of making the other declare it. Intelligence was yesterday received that the French had laid an embargo on all our ships, and those of other nations bound thither, and only passage-boats are allowed to go between Calais and Dover. Fox still continues to hold the same violent language, and is certainly losing some of his friends; the navy is manning as fast as possible; and, as the scandalous behaviour of our enemies gives us reason to hope that Providence will be on our side, I trust we may hope for a successful termination of this measure.

I really hope you will not suffer your national feeling to carry you too far; in Ireland, the only chance of a good settlement is a little delay, to give men time to digest and to form their plan. I trust we shall hear that some idea of that sort is adopted. You will gratify me very much by sometimes writing to me, and I beg you to tell Lord Londonderry that I will do all I can for Cleland. He is to go with Captain Hardinge.[1]

Ever yours most affectionately, B.

Lord Camden to the Hon. Robert Stewart.

Berkeley Square, June 28, 1794.

Dear Robert—You will be glad to hear that I have had a conversation with Pitt perfectly satisfactory to me. I think it, however, quite certain that the office we have mentioned will be given to one of the persons who are likely soon to join administration. There are so few offices and so many claimants in that party, that it is impossible not to offer the Lord Lieutenancy, and as certain that one of them will take it. Pitt assured me, and convinced me, that no specific offer has been made of that office to any one, but that, in conversation, it had been held out that it would be to be disposed of; that he had meant to have spoken to me every day for the last month, but expected something more specific would arise respecting this arrangement; that he considered me as so much his friend, that I would not, had I had an absolute promise, insist upon the fulfilment of it, if the office alluded to was necessary in a great arrangement of this sort; that not only he, but his colleagues and the King, had expressed their approbation of my

[1] Captain George Nicholas Hardinge was an elder brother of Lord Hardinge, whose early distinction in the naval profession afforded the fairest promise of not less eminence in that career than the conqueror of Lahore and the pacificator of India has acquired in the military and civil service. As Captain of H.M.S. the San Fiorenzo, of 38 guns, he fell, on the 8th of March, 1808, in an attack off the Island of Ceylon with the French frigate La Piedmontaise, of 50 guns, the capture of which added another glorious wreath to the numbers won during that war by our naval heroes.

going to Ireland, in preference to any other individual, and that I did not give way to any other man, but to a great coalition. However, he was not certain that at last the arrangement would take place, and, at all events, thought Westmorland would stay another session.

I told Pitt that I had been hurt at his not speaking to me. He said he had been so tormented for the last two months, that he had had no time to think of anything which it was not absolutely necessary to decide at the moment. I think it therefore quite certain that I shall not go to Ireland; and you will be glad to hear that my mind is at ease upon that subject, although I by no means give up the idea of an active employment.

Ypres is taken, and Clairfayt and the Duke of York have both retreated; and affairs in Flanders are going on very ill.

Pray remember Lady C. to Lady Emily, and believe me, most affectionately yours, CAMDEN.

The Rev. Dr. Lanigan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, to the Rev. Dr. Troy.[1]

Ballyragget, March 10, 1798.

Most Rev. Sir—I was absent from Kilkenny these eight days, and was a great part of that time occupied with the priests that border on the Queen's County, in consulting them, and concerting measures with them, in order to prevent, if possible, the introduction of United Irishmen and their principles into this County. The letter you honoured me with was sent after me, and I received it there. I could make this short but true answer to it, that the charges mentioned there against the priests and me are false, malicious, and groundless. It is necessary, perhaps, to prove this more at large. I beg your patience, then, while I state the facts, as they happened.

A sermon was preached in St. James's chapel, about a month ago, on Faith, its necessity, its utility, and the conditions required for true faith. The preacher had in view only to con-

[1] Catholic archbishop of Dublin.

fute the lax principles of the richer Roman Catholics, who, under pretext of liberality of sentiment, wished to establish an indifference about all religion and all religious modes of worship. This sermon was most maliciously misrepresented in town; probably, by some Protestants who were present. Sir Charles Asgill and the mayor came to me about it. Sir Charles said that he was urged by some Protestants in town to pursue this business; and said, further, that he was told by them, that the priest preached against Government. As far as I can recollect my words, I answered him as follows—that "the sermon was strangely perverted in town; that it contained nothing directly or indirectly against Government; that it was directed rather against Catholics of loose principles than against any other persons; that what I asserted would be proved by the testimony of more than 1500 persons who were present, and many of these the most respectable Roman Catholics in the city:" and, to convince him entirely of the truth of what I said, I sent the sermon itself to the mayor and to him. The mayor, after reading it, declared that the priest said nothing but what a zealous Roman Catholic priest would say. Before Sir Charles left me, I solemnly declared to him that, attached by conscience and by principle to his Majesty and to his Government, I would neither say myself, nor suffer to be said by any body else, if I could prevent it, any thing contrary to the respect and obedience due to both, by every good subject. And, for the truth of all this, I confidently appeal to the honour of Sir Charles and the mayor. As for the charge of our holding no communion with Protestants, I never heard of it before I saw it in your letter. Among all the perversions of the sermon, *that* was never mentioned to me. There was not a single sentence in the sermon about it; and, indeed, I do not see how any one could extort such a sense out of it, except a man who spoke once in Parliament against your *pastoral charge*.

Let me make one remark before I conclude. The priests

told me, and I believe them, that the fear of assassination prevents them from speaking as much as they wished against United Irishmen. This did not deter me from exposing, at the altar, in the neighbourhood of the Queen's County, their horrid principles; execrating them as well as I could, and warning the poor people not to be deluded by these monsters. I told them that they should rather lose their lives than take the infernal oath of the United Irishmen; and declared, at the same time, that I would prefer death before I would take it myself. Does it not appear odd enough that, while I was thus employed, at the risk of my life, complaints should be lodged against me in Dublin, and to Government, as abetting sermons of dangerous tendency in Kilkenny?

This long account has, perhaps, tired you; I know it has myself. Yet I could not say much less on this extraordinary occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JAMES LANIGAN.

Lord Grenville[1] *to Lord Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

Cleveland Row, March 30, 1798.

My dear Lord Camden—I send you a very imperfect sketch, which I have allowed to be printed, of the heads of a speech made in answer to a virulent invective against us all. My principal reason for consenting to the publication in this very crude and insufficient form was my strong desire to give notoriety to some of the facts which it contains, and particularly to the charge made at the close of it, *and not answered*, of a connection between the Opposition and the treasonable societies here.

I hope you do not mean to suffer your Parliament to separate without some act of attainder against the fugitives. I have been a little considering with myself the principle of our constitution with respect to Bills of Pains and Penalties, par-

[1] Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

ticularly as it is to be collected from the proceeding against Atterbury,[1] had in very good times, and under the direction of some of the ablest lawyers we have had.

It seems to me that, if the existence of a treasonable plot be proved by the conviction at *law* of some of the offenders, and if it can be shown by sufficient evidence, *both* that other persons were generally concerned in the practices connected with and forming a part of that conspiracy, and that unusual means have been used to deprive the public of the testimony of those witnesses, by whom the particular overt acts could have been proved, such means being used either with the privity of the persons so concerned, or as a part of the general system and conspiracy in which they were engaged, that, in such case, the power of Parliament to punish by legislative act, not *going to life or limb*, is unquestionable in practice, and consonant to all the true principles of justice.

The great caution which such a subject as that of legislative interference for the purpose of punishment naturally requires from honest men has made me desirous that this proposition should be as distinctly stated as I have tried to do it above; and that it should then be weighed and considered; the present moment and circumstances in Ireland being certainly such as to require (if ever) the interposition of Parliament, to check by any constitutional exercise of its authority the progress of a rebellion, which is almost disputing for pre-eminence and superiority of power with the lawful government.

I need not observe to you that this reasoning applies only to Bills of Pains and Penalties against offenders who cannot be convicted by the ordinary course of law, and not at all to Bills of Attainder in default of surrender, the principle of which is obvious, and liable to no difficulty, that I am aware of.

They have not been usual, as I believe, at least not so usual in the cases where the proceedings have not been instituted

[1] Bishop of Rochester, time of George I., who was thus proceeded against by the Government for conspiring to bring in the Pretender.

against the offenders in *Parliament;* but I do not think that this difference at all affects the principle, or that any good reason can be assigned against enforcing, by legislative proceeding, the appearance of the King's subjects to answer in the courts below to charges of treason against them.

Excuse these suggestions, which, very likely, your own reflections have anticipated, and believe me, ever yours, most truly, GRENVILLE.

Lord Castlereagh to Sir Ralph Abercromby, Bart., Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

Dublin Castle, March 30, 1798.

Sir—I am commanded by his Excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant, to communicate to you his Excellency's orders, that you do forthwith direct the military to act, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous unlawful assemblies of persons, threatening the peace of the realm, and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects, wheresoever collected.

I have the honour to enclose to you a proclamation, which has been issued this day by the Lord-Lieutenant in council, and am directed to convey to you his Excellency's orders, that you do employ the troops under your command in the disturbed districts; particularly in the counties of Kildare, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, King's County, Queen's County, and Kilkenny; and in such others as shall become disturbed, or appear to you in danger of becoming so, to crush the rebellion in whatever shape it shall show itself, by the most summary military measures, and that you do employ similar means effectually to disarm the rebels; particularly to recover the arms forcibly and traitorously taken from the well-affected inhabitants, and to afford protection to all his Majesty's loyal subjects.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Secret Information respecting Hostile Preparations in French Ports in February and March, 1798.[1]

5th February. Sailed from Gravesend, on board the Rebecca sloop, of and for Emden and Flushing, John Thompson, Master.

8th. Arrived at Flushing: nothing particular: one 74-gun ship building, one third finished, one 40-gun ship, and one 16-gun brig. In Flushing Road, guardships, some military stores getting ready to ship for France.

11th. Arrived at Bruges. 700 troops to guard the town; no preparations of any kind there.

12th. Ostend. Nothing whatever doing there, and but few troops; expect 4000 every day.

13th. On the road from Ostend to Dunkirque, passed through Newport; nothing doing there whatever; met General Buonaparte between Furnes and Dunkirque, going to Ostend to inspect the port, and make contracts for building flat-bottom boats for the descent.

14th and 15th. At Dunkirque. In the Park, 40 flat-bottomed boats complete; 3 gun-boats, 3 guns each, 18 or 24-pounders; 2 of the same force, in the harbour; 1 in the road; 2 frigates in the basin, one complete, the other not; several other vessels, but not fitting out. General Buonaparte contracted for the building of 25 gun-boats, from 50 to 70 feet long, 20 to 25 feet broad, to carry 2 and 3 guns each; 100 pinnaces, to carry 50 men each, all under bonds to be complete in 40 days from the 15th of February, and made himself responsible for the payment of the whole. The large boats building on the quays of Dunkirque, the pinnaces in the different boat-builders' yards, and in the Park.

16th. Set out for Paris. At Bergh, a small town on the side of the canal from Dunkirque to St. Omer, 21 large, flat-

[1] This Paper shows with what earnestness and determination Napoleon had undertaken the invasion of England in the year 1798.

bottomed boats building, to be sent to Dunkirque; are made to row a number of oars, and a mast to strike or lay down when needful. On the road to Lisle, every useful tree cut down, and sawyers at work, cutting plank and other scantling, and carts transporting it to the coast in great numbers.

17th. At Lisle. 4000 troops arrived from Holland, under marching orders for the coast, with ammunition and arms—all young and able men.

18th. Left Lisle, passed through Douay, Cambray, and Peronne, for Paris; all full of troops, horse and foot.

19th. Arrived at Paris. Full of troops, horse and foot; a guard at every corner of the street, but all quiet. Of the army list troops ordered for the expedition, 275,000 mounted and dismounted, cavalry battalion men, and infantry, all to be within 24 hours' forced march of the coast.

OFFICERS NAMED FOR THE EXPEDITION.

General Buonaparte .	Chief in Command.
Desaix	General of Cavalry.
Baraguay D'Hilliers	All Generals of Division, except Kellerman, Jun., who is Adjutant-General-in-Chief of Brigade.
Chateauneuf Randon	
Kleber	
Sousac Latour . .	
Stengel, Junior . .	
Kellerman, Junior .	
Kilmaine	
Dumas	General of Brigade.
Le Grand	General of Brigade.

They speak much of having horses provided for them in England.

22nd. Set out for Evreux, to see Captain Thomas Blackwell, captain of chasseurs. In this town, 5000 troops all ready for marching; went with him to Rouen, where head-quarters are ordered, and now 25,000 troops are ready to march at an hour's notice, mounted and dismounted cavalry 3000, the rest are foot, but indifferent men, and badly clothed.

23d. At Rouen, building on the quay 11 large gun-boats, to carry 3 guns, 24-pounders, each, and 250 men, or troops.

24th and 25th. Went down the river with a Danish brig to Havre-de-Grace; on both sides of the river, 39 flat-bottomed boats building, of different dimensions, half finished, and draw about 5 or 6 feet water when complete.

26th. At Havre. In the dock are 7 frigates, of different dimensions; three are fitted out, but not manned. Flat-bottom boats without number, of different dimensions, not complete—gun-boats; 11 carry 2 or 3 guns each, 18 and 24-pounders. In Havre, and the small towns near it, are 21,000 troops ready to embark at short notice. At Honfleur are 60 flat-bottomed boats and gun-boats, but could not know to a certainty what number of the latter. All flat-bottomed boats, as soon as complete, are sent from there to Honfleur. Could not get information of anything particular doing at Cherbourg or St. Malo, but believe it to be in the same state as in October last: nothing particular doing there at present.

2nd March. Returned to Paris. Met a great many sailors going to Havre, and a number of troops, horse and foot.

4th. 4000 troops ordered by Government to march from Cambray, Douay, and Lisle, for Dunkirque and Calais; same time contract made for 200 Dutch schoots, from 60 to 100 tons burthen, for carrying stores from different parts of Holland along the coast of France; those schoots are flat-bottomed vessels, drawing from 5 to 7 feet water, loaded.

8th. Left Paris for Calais: on the road, troops and waggons with arms, without number, moving in all directions.

9th. Arrived at Douay. 91 pieces of artillery in the church-yard, getting ready to set out next day for the coast, with a great number of troops; in the road between Douay and Lisle, 70 waggons, with arms and ammunition for Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirque. Arrived at Lisle at night; the grand place full of artillery and troops, to march next day for Dunkirque and Calais.

10th. At Calais, 15 flat-bottom boats building on the same plan as at Dunkirque. Timber and planks on the road everywhere cutting and transporting.

11th. At Gravelines nothing doing, particularly at Dunkirque. On the 12th arrived a great number of troops, with 100 copper-bottom pontoons, for making floating bridges, about 25 feet long, with hooks and chains to link them together. Great preparations making; the gun-boats half finished. Great many of the pinnaces finished, but nothing further particular.

13th. At Ostend nothing could be done, unless Buonaparte would send men and materials; nothing of the kind in the place. About 400 troops to guard the town, but more expected every day. Here I was arrested, and detained one day.

15th. At Flushing, nothing particular, but some arms and ammunition getting ready for the schoots, which they expected in a few days to call, coming from other parts of Holland.

16th. Went to Rotterdam to look for a passage; could get none; returned to Flushing. Left Flushing Wednesday last, the 40-gun ship and 16-gun brig in the road.

Sir Ralph Abercromby to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Dublin, April 1, 1798.

The Commander-in-Chief humbly begs to submit to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant's consideration, whether he himself, and the officers acting under him, are warranted by the Proclamation, and the orders issued by his Excellency thereon—

To quarter troops wherever they may judge necessary, in any buildings whatever; to press horses and carriages; to demand forage and provisions; to hold courts-martial for the trial and punishment of offenders of all descriptions, civil or military, with the power of confirming and causing to be executed the sentences of all such courts-martial; to issue proclamations.

Lord Castlereagh to Sir Ralph Abercromby.

Dublin Castle, April 1, 1798.

Sir—My Lord-Lieutenant has transmitted to me a paper delivered by you this day to his Excellency, wherein you request to be informed Whether the Commander-in-Chief and

the officers acting under him are warranted by the Proclamation and the orders issued by his Excellency thereon—

To quarter troops wherever they may judge necessary, in any buildings whatever; to press horses and carriages; to demand forage and provisions; to hold courts-martial for the trial and punishment of offenders of all descriptions, civil or military, with the power of confirming and causing to be executed the sentences of all such courts-martial, and to issue "Proclamations."

And, in answer thereto, his Excellency has directed me to inform you that the Proclamation, and his Excellency's orders in consequence thereof, invest you with all the powers which are enumerated in that paper.

His Excellency also considers the general officers acting under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief warranted to carry the measures therein specified into execution, except that of holding courts-martial for the trial of civil and military offenders, and confirming and carrying the sentences thereof into execution; which power his Excellency confides solely to the Commander-in-Chief. I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

NOTICE.

To the Inhabitants of the County of Kildare.

Whereas, his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant in Council has, in consequence of the daring acts and depredations committed in this County, ordered and directed, by his Proclamation, bearing date the 30th March last, and by his particular orders thereon—That the military should use the most summary means to repress disturbances, and to recover all arms taken from the yeomanry and well-affected, and other concealed arms and ammunition; all the people concerned in taking or concealing these arms are required to give them up within ten days from the publication of this Notice, which, if they do, they may be assured no violence whatever will be done to them or to their properties; but, if they do not, they are in-

formed that the troops will be quartered in large bodies, to live at free quarters among them, and other very severe means be used to enforce obedience to this Notice.

And those who have knowledge where arms are concealed, are called upon to give information, which they may do in any private manner, to the nearest civil magistrate, or commanding officer of his Majesty's forces, or of the yeomanry corps. Secrecy shall be observed with respect to them, and they shall be rewarded when their report is proved to be true.

Should the deluded and evil-disposed among the people in this County still persevere in robbing, and murdering, and committing other acts of violent insubordination to the laws of their country, they are informed that the Commander-in-Chief will be obliged to have recourse to those powers with which he has been invested, to bring them to immediate punishment.

Given at head-quarters, at Kildare, the third of April, 1798.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

FREDERICK MAITLAND, Secretary.

The like Notices sent to the King's and Queen's Counties.

PLAN FOR THE DEFENCE OF DUBLIN.

To his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant.

Dublin, April 4, 1798.

My Lord—It is with reverential awe and diffidence that I venture to obtrude myself upon your Excellency, surrounded, as you are, by such able counsellors, some considerations which have occurred to me relative to a method for rendering this city and its environs more secure at this momentous period. Excluded by privateness of station from communicating in any other manner with your Excellency, nothing could have induced me to trouble you with these observations but a conviction of its being the duty of every loyal and well-affected subject to contribute even his mite towards the preservation of the State and the maintenance of his Majesty's Government, so wisely administered in your Excellency's person.

Without further apology, then, I shall presume to recommend that strong iron gates be erected at the head of the several leading streets through the city, in such a manner as to cut off communication between various quarters of the town, unless by passing through some or other of these gates: each gate to be in possession of a sufficient military guard, as well for their protection as to watch the rebellious, and give alarm in case of any appearance of insurrection. Similar gates to be erected at all the principal avenues leading into the city, and guarded in the same manner. Places where particular danger is to be apprehended might be entirely closed in with such gates, such as Ely Place, Molesworth Street, Mary's Abbey, &c. The gates in some places might be erected in such a manner as to be permanent and ornamental.

From the execution of this design, I conceive that several advantages would possibly accrue, viz.—the metropolis being so well secured might operate as a preventive against any attempt at insurrection, by infusing into the rebellious-spirited an entire despair of success, and so incline them shortly to abandon their wild projects. This, if obtained, would be the greatest advantage of all.

But, in case of a general rising through the city, the insurgents could easily be kept by these means, even with very few military, from concentrating a force at any particular quarter—*divide et impera*—and, while it kept asunder the enemy, it would expedite the collection of a large military force. It might deter from a partial insurrection, as help would in vain be looked for, either from other parts of the city or from the country, communication being effectually cut off.

It would afford a great additional protection, as well to the soldiers in action as to the peaceable inhabitants, none of whom could suddenly be surprised by parties coming unawares upon them, as the soldiery alone would, in case of insurrection, have access through the gates.

This plan of defence, if approved of and well-regulated, might

perhaps be extended through the whole kingdom, and, with the addition of deep trenches or the like, at important passes, have not only all the advantages against insurgents which have been stated with respect to the metropolis, but be a very great additional security, even in case of a foreign enemy landing, as well by retarding their progress as principally by preventing internal enemies from forming a junction with the foreign. I am sensible that the adoption of this measure would carry the appearance of alarm; but the spirit of rebellion is too general not to be apprehended, and to be prepared for the worst is the best way to prevent it.

I have the honour to be his Majesty's loyal and dutiful subject, J. D.

ADDRESS OF DR. EDWARD DILLON, ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF KILMACDUAGH.

Edward Dillon, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, to the Roman Catholic Laity of said Dioceses:

Kilcornan, April 6, 1798.

Health and benediction!—A father who looks on with silent indifference, whilst danger and ruin in a thousand shapes threaten his family, may justly be considered as guilty of high treason against human nature. The fond emotions of paternal affection have never vibrated in his heart. Studious of his own ease, attentive to himself alone, wholly occupied in gratifying his inclinations, or consulting his own safety, he feels no alarm on seeing the snares that are laid for his children, and suffers them, without a pang, to rush on to unavoidable destruction. Such exactly would be my case, should I omit, at this time, to warn you of the dangers with which you are surrounded. If feeling the most tender solicitude for your temporal as well as eternal welfare would entitle me to be considered by you in the light of a father, I conceive myself to have an undoubted claim to that endearing appellation; but I am called upon by a tie of a superior nature—that bond which

unites the pastor to his flock—that sacred and awful obligation which I contracted on being entrusted with the care of this portion of the Church of Christ—to address you on the present calamitous occasion.

There is not one amongst you, even in the most remote and obscure hamlet, who hath not heard of the oaths and associations which have entailed so many misfortunes on various districts of this kingdom. How many poor exiles from northern counties have you seen arrive amongst you, sent adrift, without pity or remorse, by a barbarous association! How many atrocities have you heard committed by persons belonging to societies of, if possible, a still more dangerous tendency! How many villages destroyed, and districts laid waste, in consequence of illegal oaths and conspiracies! It would be foreign to my purpose further to pursue this tale of woe; much less doth it fall within the sphere of my duty to investigate that maze of moral and political causes which have concurred to beget that restlessness and agitation of the public mind which prevails in various parts of the kingdom: suffice it to observe that these oaths and associations have been proscribed by the legislature under the severest penalties. And it would be doing an injury to the opinion which I entertain of your principles to suppose that any of you could be so little acquainted with the obligations which he owes to society, as not to know that you are bound, both by the law of God and the law of nature, to obey the ordinances of the State in all civil and temporal concerns. What could be more deplorable than the situation of that country, in which it would be permitted to each individual to contradict the laws, to withdraw his allegiance, to oppose the legislature! The law of God commands us to obey the rulers of the land. The Saviour of mankind inculcates this doctrine in the Gospel, and the Apostle of nations, the blessed Paul, is clear on the subject.

But, waving these considerations, your own interest, and the happiness of the district in which you reside, call upon you

to avoid, with the utmost caution, all illegal oaths and combinations. Take warning from what hath happened in the various parts of the kingdom, which have had the misfortune to experience the direful consequences of those illegal associations. Learn to appreciate the inestimable blessings of peace and tranquillity, which you have hitherto enjoyed. Thrice happy if, whilst the thunder of anarchy growls at a distance, you are allowed quietly to partake of your frugal fare, and compose yourselves to rest without dread of the assassin or the midnight robber.

There are, no doubt, even amongst us, some few whose hearts are corrupted, and whose minds are perverted; who never once beseeched, with humility, the Father of Light to enlighten them; who yet decide every point, philosophize on every subject; whose whole education consists of a few scraps, taken from immoral or impious writers; who, on the authority of some sacrilegious innovator, blaspheme that religion to which they are utter strangers; who, afraid to look into the state of their own hearts, which they have never enriched with the practice of any virtue, and, not daring to look to Heaven, which they have never ceased to insult, would wish to forget themselves in the midst of tumult and confusion. They look forward with anxious expectation for the arrival of their brethren in impiety. They tell us, with a malignant and ill-dissembled satisfaction, that we must not flatter ourselves with the hopes of escaping a visit from the French. I will not take upon myself to determine an event which, as yet, remains amongst the secrets of Providence. Obstacles of great magnitude lie in their way. I will not, however, hesitate to declare that the wrath of Heaven could scarcely visit us with a more dreadful scourge. Witness the atrocities which have marked their steps in every country into which they have intruded themselves. Treasures and valuable effects carried off under the name of contributions; the smallest opposition to the will of those apostles of liberty attended with the most horrid devastations; churches pillaged and profaned; our holy religion

proscribed; even lately, a respectable nation given up to carnage and slaughter, for having attempted to defend the constitution and laws under which they and their ancestors lived for ages, a brave, frugal, and happy people; the supreme Pastor of our Church not only reviled and calumniated in the most impudent manner, but also stripped of that property, which enabled him to display a generosity and benevolence worthy of his high station; and to propagate the Gospel of Christ amongst the most remote nations of the globe. Such are a part of the blessings, which, under the specious name of liberty, have been bestowed on many neighbouring countries, by the rulers of the French people.

Ill-fated people, destined to wade through torrents of blood, in quest of that liberty which hath hitherto escaped their pursuit! More restless than the waves of the ocean which dash against their shores, have they plunged from revolution to revolution—the sport of every prevailing faction; and are, at length, compelled to bend under the iron rod of tyrants, more despotic than any of the kings who swayed the sceptre of their nation. But, my beloved brethren, let us put our trust in that Providence which directs all human events. Let the impious man quit his iniquity, and the virtuous man redouble the fervour of his supplications; and the God of Mercy will turn away his wrath from us; for who is it that hath confided in the Lord and was confounded?

In the mean time, let me conjure you, through the precious blood of our Divine Redeemer, whose death we thus commemorate, to have mercy on yourselves, on your children, and on your country; to reject, with horror, all clandestine oaths which may be proposed to you. As for my part, it will be the pride of my life, and the greatest consolation which I can enjoy here below, should I be, in any degree, instrumental in preserving you from the machinations of dangerous and designing men. I may surely say, without presumption, that I have a juster claim to your confidence than those workers of

iniquity who delight in darkness. The God of all Truth knows that I am a stranger to political parties; and that, in this Address, I am influenced merely by the desire of promoting your happiness, and by the imperious call of a sacred duty. Indeed, when I reflect on the happy days which I have spent with you, at your respective chapels, each succeeding year, since I have been appointed to preside over these Dioceses; when I call to mind that reverence and veneration which you manifested for the Episcopal character—the avidity with which you received the great and consoling truths of the Gospel—the warm expressions of gratitude and tender affection with which you repaid any exertions that might have been employed to inflame you with the love of morality and religion—I am filled with the most sanguine expectations that I do not address you in vain. But, should I have the misfortune to find myself disappointed in the opinion which I entertain of you, I shall, at least, have the consolation to reflect that I have discharged my duty—that I have not slept at my post, or failed to give you due notice of the impending danger.

Immediately after the approaching festival of Easter, I shall meet you on stated days at your respective chapels, and trace out to you the plan of conduct which appears to me the most desirable for you to pursue in this emergency. I shall conclude, in the mean time, with the words of the Apostle, St. Paul—"May the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, fill your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus!"

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Robert Marshall, Esq.[1]

Monday, April 9, 1798.

My dear Sir—Conformably to my promise, I enclose a draft of the paragraph to be inserted in all our Dublin papers on the subject so often mentioned. Something of the kind is absolutely necessary to remove the fatal impression made by

[1] Private Secretary to Lord Castlereagh, who was then officiating for Mr. Pelham, as Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.

the calumnious report which has operated most dreadfully, and must continue to do so, unless contradicted in the most authentic and public manner.

In submitting the enclosed to your consideration, I do not mean it should be exclusively adopted. No ; you may improve or alter it at discretion, retaining always the main point—that is, the exculpation of the Roman Catholic Prelates. I must observe to you that even a suspicion of having written, or in any manner suggested, the enclosed would not only destroy the intended effect, but increase the obloquy against my brethren in general, and expose myself, in particular, to danger ; I must, therefore, beseech you, my dear sir, to burn the enclosed and these lines, after taking a copy of the former, and to procure the insertion of whatever you may think expepedient in the public prints, at the instigation of Government alone ; which, indeed, is principally interested on that occasion, as the guardian of good order.

With respect to what I mentioned concerning a meeting of some clergymen at Denmark Street Chapel, in the beginning of next July, I shall only add, that the objects of it are perfectly harmless ; and that, if required by Government, I shall be responsible for their conduct on the occasion. Harmless, however, as it is, they wish for the permission of Government to prevent every inconveniency. I request it may be granted, and remain, &c., T. John Troy.

I refer you to my former letter respecting the calumny, &c.

Mr. Wickham[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Whitehall, April 11, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of the 7th inst., in answer to which I

[1] One of the under-secretaries to the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State for the Home department. He had been envoy of the British

lose no time in transmitting to you, by the Duke of Portland's direction, a copy of a very satisfactory one, which I have just received from Mr. Lewis on the same subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS. I have scarcely a moment to say that Mr. Oliver Carleton arrived here this morning. It is most exceedingly to be lamented that no person can be sent over from Ireland to prove Coigley's handwriting.[1] Proof of that kind would be so extremely material, that I have no doubt that the law-officers would think it right to put off the trial if they could have any hope of any person being found, in a short time, who could speak distinctly to his handwriting. I have not time to acknowledge Mr. Cooke's letters.

War Office, April 11, 1798.

Sir—In answer to your letter of this day's date, with its enclosure, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of his Grace the Duke of Portland, that that part of the 60th regiment, which has been sent over to Ireland, consists wholly of foreigners.

I have the honour, &c.,

M. LEWIS.

Lord Castlereagh to Sir Ralph Abercromby.

Dublin Castle, April 14, 1798.

Sir—As it appears to the Lord-Lieutenant that it may eventually be of the highest importance that a Place of Arms should be established in or near Dublin, capable of resisting attack from insurgents; of containing within it such ordnance

government to the Swiss Confederation before the invasion of Switzerland by the French.

[1] Quigley was one of the party apprehended with Arthur O'Connor, at Margate, and the only one against whom there was sufficient evidence for a conviction.

stores as are at present most exposed to danger; and, from its situation, enabled to command the town;

And, it being his Excellency's opinion that no time should be lost in carrying this measure into effect, I am directed to request you will point your attention to this object, and communicate to me, for his Excellency's information, your opinion thereupon.

I have the honour to enclose, for your consideration, some hints from General Vallancey on the above subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

April 14, 1798.

A like letter sent to the Hon. Capt. Pakenham, Clonmel.

General Vallancey[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

April 16, 1798.

My Lord—As I am to be soon honoured with another conversation with your lordship on the subject of the defence of the metropolis, I beg leave to lay before you a plan I hastily formed in December, '96, for the consideration of the late Commander-in-Chief. Neither the subject nor the plan was thought worthy of argument or inspection. It may be the case at present; but it will convince your lordship that I have not been inattentive to the defence of the kingdom, to

[1] General Vallancey, though a native of England, after he had obtained a commission in the corps of Engineers on the Irish establishment, particularly distinguished himself by the extraordinary ardour and assiduity with which he prosecuted the study of the language, antiquities, and topography of Ireland. Among other evidences of his devotion to these pursuits was the production of a Grammar and a Dictionary of the Irish language, and his Map of Ireland, constructed from a survey of the island. Of his taste for the fine arts, particularly architecture, the Queen's Bridge in Dublin furnishes a specimen. He died in that city in 1812, at the advanced age of ninety years.

the best of my abilities. I am to request the return of the map when perused, having kept no copy.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHARLES VALLANCEY.

DEFENCE OF DUBLIN.[1]

Dublin, December 10, 1798.

Should the enemy, by unforeseen accidents to our fleets (as heretofore) be able to perfect a landing in this Island, even of 40,000 men, a body almost incredible to be transported with the necessary artillery, &c.; and, should our army be obliged to retreat to the capital, to which the enemy would, of course, pursue them, I am of opinion that Dublin, defended by works in the manner expressed in this plan, with a garrison of 20,000 men, might resist an enemy till succour arrived in our bay from England. But, supposing the enemy shall debark at most 20,000 men, he must leave half that number, at least, to garrison Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and the passes of the Shannon, to secure his retreat in case of defeat, so that he cannot be supposed to bring more than 10,000, at most, of regulars against Dublin; and, as to native troops raised after his arrival, it must be our neglect if they are ever suffered to be drilled and exercised so as to become formidable.

This plan of detached works, at such distances as to flank each other by cannon, requires but few men to work the guns only, and leaves the army free in its operations to advance and retreat under their fire, while it is impossible for the enemy to pursue, beyond a given line, without storming or taking these redoubts, which, being open in the rear, can neither be turned against ourselves, if taken; and the enemy must be soon driven out by our being able to present a force so greatly superior to what they can have in so small a work. A small

[1] I consider this a very important paper at this juncture; nor have I seen anything which contains better or more scientific opinions.

work of this kind was taken and retaken thirty-six times at the siege of Candy.

The canals almost surround the city: they form a good advanced fossé, even supposing the locks destroyed, which cannot well be done till the redoubts are. There is a space between Cabra and Kilmainham that derives no advantage from the canals, and this space fortunately is occupied by the bold ground of the Park, of which it is our business to take the greatest advantage.

The circular road, being within our line, affords a facility of movement to our troops to support any part hard pressed by the enemy, who, from the innumerable obstacles of enclosures, garden-walls, &c., cannot possibly move with the rapidity we shall be able to do, both with our troops and our artillery.

There are 18 redoubts, or detached bastions, mounted with 5 guns, and 24 men in each. There are as many advanced flêches, with 2 guns, and 12 men in each: in all 126 guns and 648 men.

The guns to be 12-pounders, which we can readily supply from the stores of Dublin, and what will arrive with the retreating army.

The exterior circumference of these redoubts is 8 miles: to invest these on all sides out of reach of cannon shot, the enemy must form a line of circumvallation of at least 30 miles in circumference. This he will never be able to effect; consequently, he cannot prevent provisions from being brought in by land or by water.

Provisions is an article, I am afraid, not sufficiently attended to in the metropolis. The consumption will be enormous, if ever an enemy sets foot in this kingdom, from the great number of mouths that will flock to the metropolis from all parts, to which let us add a retreating army of thirty or forty thousand men. We may certainly be supplied from England; but should we depend on such supplies?

The avenues, or roads, leading into Dublin at the circumference of the proposed works are, fortunately, not more than

a thousand yards distant from each other ; so that the interval will be crossed by our fire, and opposite to this interval is an advanced flêche, flanked by the fire of the bastions. Clairac, Saxe, Tielke, and many other good engineers, have said so much in praise of detached works in preference to a continued line, that it is needless to say more of that mode of fortifying in this place.

All the bridges over the canals—indeed, all the bridges from Dublin to Cork, and from Dublin to Derry—should be mined, ready to be charged, and blown up as we retreat. We have neither miners, artificers, nor pioneers attached to our corps, as in England ; but, what is more extraordinary, we have not one set of miners' tools, nor an inch of saucisson, nor any one article for mining or for any other purpose, in our stores ; and they are not to be found in the shops when wanted.

This idea of defence struck Marshal Saxe so strongly, that he wrote a treatise on it. Instead of detached bastions, he proposed *round* towers of brick, which are much preferable. I have often fired, says he, for three or four days, on a paltry, hollow, square brick tower, with a battery of 20 pieces of heavy metal, and at 400 paces distance only, before I could bring it down.

We have not time to erect round or square towers ; but I am of opinion something of this kind should be in our thoughts at the commencement of every war, as well for Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, as for Dublin ; of which I have expressed my ideas fully in my Itinerary.

It may so happen that the enemy, despairing of effecting a landing in the south, where the coasts may be well guarded by our fleets, may push, with a fair wind, for St. George's channel, land at the Murrough of Wicklow, and pass their fleet northward. What a situation would the metropolis be reduced to were such an event to take place ! A desperate enemy will attempt any thing, and this is not impossible.

CHARLES VALLANCEY.

Extracts from the Report of the Hon. Captain Pakenham, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, to the Board.

April 26, 1798.

In the road to Cork, in Kilworth Park, there is an old castle, which, if possessed and planted with cannon, will command the road to Kilworth for a mile, and the passage of the Funcheon, which, though fordable both above and below the bridge, may, from the apparent strength of the stream, be raised for miles by a weir commanded from that castle. I mentioned these circumstances to the Commander-in-Chief at Cork, and he said he would examine the place on his return.

On Windmill Hill, on the north side of the river of Cork, there should be a work, the necessity of which, for the security of the town and for the evacuation of it, is unavoidable. I explained to the Commander-in-Chief, and I believe satisfied him upon that subject: it however remains yet undetermined whether it is to be undertaken or not.

At Cork there are three twelve-pounders medium, two eight-inch howitzers, and three 5½-inch howitzers more than Sir Ralph Abercrombie's distribution of the ordnance allows for that post, and more than in the present state we have horses to draw; and I recommend to the Board to put them on board a vessel, with the powder now in the magazine at Cork, and the made-up ammunition above the proportion for the marching train, and have her moored with a swivel at Passage. I would also recommend that a smaller vessel should be filled with an assortment of military stores and ammunition, equal to any emergency, and should be stationed for the supply of the army, if advanced to Bandon, half a mile below the bridge of Ennishannon. No time should be lost in making that reserve, so essential to the supply and service of the troops for the defence of Cork.

The battery at Oyster Haven is not yet undertaken, nor is there, to my mind, the shadow of a necessity for it; however, as the engineer had the Commander-in-Chief's orders for it, he

will of course proceed: in the mean time, two 5½-inch howitzers are prepared at Charles Fort, to protect that landing-place and Robarts' Cove.

A great deal of money has been laid out at Camden Fort, and Major Brown has disposed of it judiciously; but it requires more money a great deal to prevent anybody from walking into it; and it will be necessary to alter the line of defence to the southward, as its present direction affords neither flank nor cover; and Colonel Crawford and I both got into it without the least difficulty, unperceived. That was a necessity so obvious, that I directed Major Brown to do it instantly, as all the money already expended would only be serviceable to the enemy without it. It was far from my purpose to make any alterations in the plan of the Commander-in-Chief, but that was so obviously necessary to General Hope, Colonel Crawford, and Major Brown, as well as myself, that I hope to be excused for ordering it. The post itself, when finished, is approachable without difficulty or danger within 140 paces of the works.

At Carlisle Fort, it was necessary also to take a step unadvised by the Commander-in-Chief, for the only well which gives water to the garrison was commanded from a secure post without the garrison, and it was therefore necessary to possess Rupert's Tower, and plant guns upon it to protect that so essential a necessary for the garrison of the fort. For all these works, and some traverses to cover the very sole of the southern *revêtement* at the fort, I imagine £2,000 will at least be necessary. At Hawlbolin Island, 300 barrels of gunpowder have been stored, and the magazines at Carlisle and Spike Island filled for service.

Sir Charles Asgill to Sir R. Abercromby.

Kilkenny, April 17, 1798.

Sir—I have the honour to inform you that the ten days' notice expires in Queen's County on Friday next, and I am

sorry to observe that no arms have as yet been brought in. Almost all the principal gentlemen have left the County since the assizes; and the few who remain, and with whom I have consulted, are of opinion that the robberies and murders have been committed by the lowest orders of the people, who have little to lose, and of course have no property nor subsistence for the soldiers to lay hold of; and it is strongly represented to me, that the soldiers, by living in free quarters, will possess themselves of the comforts and savings of the farmers, and it will be impossible for the officers commanding to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty, unless the gentlemen of the County, who are now absent, and who perhaps may know where the banditti reside, and can point them out, will return to the country, and attend with me and the other officers employed during the operation of the order.

I submit to you whether an indiscriminate attack on the whole of the inhabitants of any distant part would not involve the innocent, and make fresh enemies to Government. I earnestly request the favour of you to represent these circumstances to Government, and to inform me in what manner it is your pleasure that I should proceed. The County of Kilkenny is quieter, and I have heard of but one enormity being committed within this fortnight in Queen's County.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHARLES ASGILL, Major-General.

Colonel Campbell to Major-General Hewitt.

Athy, April 17, 1798.

Sir—General Wheelan and Colonel Lawler, two United Irishmen, and heads of a banditti, who are supposed to be the people most active in plundering the country of arms, and exercising the most wanton cruelties on the peaceable inhabitants, were this morning brought in here by a party of the Ballalenan and Monastereven Yeoman Dragoons.

Mr. Stewart Wilder, a magistrate of the Queen's County, and who resides here, had information that it was the intention of those fellows to go to Dublin by the canal, and proposed endeavouring to intercept them with his corps, which his people performed with much address; they were seized in one of the baggage-boats.

There is another of the same description, whose name is Drennan: we have been for some time past on the look-out for the three, and I hope we will soon get hold of the other.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

COLIN CAMPBELL,

Col. & Lieut.-Col. 6th Reg. com. at Athy.

Sir R. Abercromby to Lord Castlereagh.

Kilkenny, April 18, 1798.

My Lord—I have had the honour of your lordship's letter, together with General Vallancey's Report on a subject which has often been an object of inquiry. The gunpowder and fixed ammunition cannot be better placed than in the magazine; the small arms are safe in the barracks; the spare guns and carriages may either be put on board of some ship, or placed at the Pigeon House on the south wall. Dublin Castle, considered as the seat of Government, is as secure as any place in or near Dublin. When it is no longer tenable, the Chief Governor, his council, and his cabinet, must follow the army. I shall be in town to-morrow evening.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

RALPH ABERCROMBY.

To the Inhabitants of the Queen's County.

Monteith, April 22, 1798.

The ten days' notice being expired, the people are called upon to follow the example of the Counties of Tipperary, Kildare, and the King's County, and give up all their concealed arms, pikes, and ammunition.

The troops have already begun to act, and will continue to do so every day, with increased vigour, until they have enforced obedience, and accomplished their object.

The plans of the insurgents are discovered; their chiefs are apprehended; and, in most parts of the country, the disaffected have given tokens of submission and repentance.

Those who immediately comply with this last and earnest request may be assured of protection. Farther perseverence and obstinacy will cause the entire ruin of themselves and their families.

CHARLES ASGILL, Major-General.

Sir R. Abercromby to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, April 23, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to enclose to your lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, a letter and a return of suspected persons, which I have just received from Lieutenant-General R. Dundas, the contents of which appear to be very deserving of notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

RALPH ABERCROMBY.

Castle Martin, April 23, 1798.

Sir—Yesterday a man of family and fortune put a paper into my hands, containing a list of the most notorious disaffected persons in the vicinity, as he assured me; and no man in this part of the country had a better opportunity of being well informed: but he will not come forward. I think it my duty to send you the enclosed copy, in order that Government may either now or hereafter make what use of it they may judge proper. We shall in the mean time avail ourselves of the information to a prudent extent.

Previous to the military execution, which commenced this morning, a few arms were brought in, but so inconsiderable as hardly to merit notice. Colonel Dunne, in King's County, had, by his report of Thursday last, been more successful.

He states having then received 70 guns, 15 swords, and 100 pikes.

Everything goes on quietly, but we have been obliged to destroy a large quantity of whiskey, without which the troops would have got drunk, and done much mischief.

I am, with great respect, &c.,

R. DUNDAS.

Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief.

RETURN OF SUSPECTED PERSONS.

Names.	Residence.	Characters of the Men.
Stephen Garry . .	Kildare . .	Treasurer to the County meeting.
Waller Mooney . .	Friarstown .	Representative to Surgeon Cummings.
Michael Lee . . .	Kildare . .	Deeply engaged, and a Captain.
James Kelly . . .	Do. . . .	A Committee-man, and knows much.
Patrick Burne . .	Ballysax . .	A Captain, much with Lord Ed. Fitzgerald.
Hugh Toole . . .	Conlanstown.	Treasurer Kildare Meeting.
Patrick Conlan . .	Do. . . .	A supposed assassin.
John Conlan . . .	Do. . . .	
Dominick Conlan .	Brownstown.	
Maurice Conlan . .	Do. . . .	
Matthew Conlan . .	Ballysax . .	
— Conlan, his son .	Do. . . .	
Thomas Gannon . .	Ballyfair . .	Deep in the secret.
Michael Barnes . .	Do. . . .	Used to be much with Lord Ed. Fitzgerald.
Edward Burne . .	Landcroft .	
Christopher Flood .	Cut Bush .	
— Deering . . .	Maddenstown	His son, a Captain, and now in jail.
Edmund Bell . . .	Hond Home on the Curragh . .	Has a meeting every Sunday at his home at 10 o'clock.
Thomas Kelly . .	Postmaster of Kilcullen .	A Captain, and swears in many.
Patrick Doyle . .	Do. . . .	A Captain, and deeply concerned.
— Flood	Do. . . .	
— Daly, son to Edward Daly . .	Do. . . .	A Captain of the half-barony of Killcullen.
Lawrance Byrne . .	Ballysax . .	A blacksmith, and supposed to have made most of the pikes.

Thomas Kelly, Esq., of Maddenstown, is supposed to know *everything* relative to the business of the United Men, but is afraid to speak out. His son, Lewis Kelly, is concerned with them, and might easily be prevailed on to make a discovery, being a man of weak nerves, and a great drunkard.

Every man upon the Curragh has a pike; they are hid underground.

There are 150 stand of arms hid in Maddenstown bog.

A committee consisting of twelve choose a sergeant; ten sergeants choose a captain; ten captains choose a colonel.

The signs of being united are—the hands clasped. Answer, the right hand to the left hip.

The words—Be steady. Answer—I am determined to free my country, or die. Liberty! Liberty!

Lord Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Lake.[1]

Dublin Castle, April 25, 1798.

Sir—It having been represented to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant that much evil may arise to the discipline of the troops from their being permitted for any length of time to live at free quarters, that the loyal and well-affected have in many instances suffered in common with the disaffected, from a measure which does not admit in its execution of sufficient discrimination of persons, I am directed by his Excellency to request that you will advert to these inconveniences, and adopt such *other vigorous and effectual measures* for enforcing the speedy surrender of arms as in your discretion you shall think fit, and which shall appear to you not liable to these objections.

I have, &c., CASTLEREAGH.

[1] General Lake succeeded Sir Ralph Abercromby as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, the latter having been appointed to the like situation in Scotland. That excellent officer had not long before reprehended publicly, and in the severest terms, the disgraceful irregularities and licentiousness of the army in Ireland, "which," he emphatically declared, "must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

Lieutenant-General Vallancey to Lord Castlereagh.

April 14, 1798.

My Lord—Having examined the situations about town for a temporary citadel, and for a place of security for the transaction of Government business in case of a sudden insurrection in the city of Dublin, and which might also contain a garrison of one or more regiments, I find none more eligible than the Royal Hospital: but, from its being surrounded by commanding grounds, its resistance can be against a mob only, because, the buildings being extended to the very edge of the hill on the sides next the garden and the road leading to the Gaol, on the opposite it can only be made defensible by a strong stoccade; and, to effect even this, the buildings should be taken down between the hospital and Bow Bridge. The Hospital is supplied with water by the forcing-pump of Island Bridge, which may be cut off.

The new Gaol in the rear of the hospital stands on bold ground also, and might make a very considerable advanced work on that side by preparing it to receive guns and mortars.

The Poor House is a large and commodious building, standing on ground rather higher up than the Hospital. It is so crowded and overlooked by houses adjacent and contiguous to its surrounding wall, that nothing can be done towards the street. In the rear is a large garden, extending to the canal, where a work might be thrown up; but this would be tedious, and at length the situation not so proper as others.

The Military Infirmary in the Park is very confined by a ravine on one side and the circular road on the other, affording no room for any kind of work but a stoccade, which would not cover within musket-shot from the grounds in the Park, which are still higher. Its water may be cut off, but there is a stream in the ravine.

There are three other situations in the Park more eligible as to site, but all want buildings, viz:—the Saluting Battery, the Magazine, the Star Fort.

As a citadel to the town, *in terrorem*, the Saluting Battery is the most preferable site: it stands on high ground, not commanded but from Kilmainham, from which the works may be easily covered. It has no water.

The hill of the Magazine is commanding. Any work thrown up here would have the double advantage of securing the Magazine. It has a supply of water by wells within.

The Star Fort may be made tolerably strong in a short time by a fraised parapet and stoccaded surround. There is water in the ditch at all seasons. The interior is swampy, and must be raised, either for buildings or encampment: the glacis will afford earth for that purpose. If anything is done here, the glacis must be taken away, to prevent a low speedy work from being looked into over the parapet.

In either of these works there may be room for sheds for the guns, mortars, &c., now in the Castle arsenal. By the time the works are perfected, the season for encamping will be advanced—suppose six weeks hence.

On inspection of the Saluting Battery, it occurred that little work is much exposed to the *coup de main* of a mob, who might turn the guns against the town, and that they might be placed with advantage within the Magazine.

It appears also that the Castle may be made much more defensive against a mob with a little expense.

CHARLES VALLANCEY,
Lieutenant-General, Chief Engineer.

Captain Pakenham to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

April, 1798.

My Lord—On my return here last night from Bandon, Kinsale, and Cork Harbour, I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, which it is impossible for me to answer with the precision which it is both my duty and desire to do, because, without examining the situations in all respects of each spot, it would

be impossible for me to give an opinion that could claim any weight. What occurs to my mind, however, on the subject, I shall state shortly to you.

The strongest place about Dublin is the Pigeon House, and the most convenient for working at, if it be necessary to erect works and buildings there to protect and contain stores: but, to control the city of Dublin, and to extend that control generally over the city, I should think some tract on the commanding ground at the back of the barracks, if there be water, would be more eligible. The new Gaol of Kilmainham is too remote, and the head-quarters there are too much enclosed with buildings; but I should think that the Royal Exchange, added to the body of the Castle, and a work made between it and the Castle, to command Castle Street, would secure that side of the Castle from any assault; and that, if the stores of consequence were moved into that side of the Square where the new buildings are, they might be reckoned secure, unless cannon could be brought against the post. I think, if the rear windows of all the apartments had strong iron bars, and an opening was cleared away between Mr. Cooke's house and Castle Street, to admit the fire from the back of the present guard-house through loopholes, that might secure that quarter from assault; but I do not know how Mr. Crosbie's apartments and that quarter of the Square can get a flank. Indeed, I have looked at it, but there certainly is no part of the town you could not reach from some part of the Castle better than from any other place, although you cannot clear away about it for its defence. The works in the Park would be very remote from the town, and very hard to complete. The works at the Pigeon House would be completed immediately, but that is also too far from town for any great effect. To my mind, however, if the Castle was secured, and the works which evidently present themselves as necessary carried on at the Pigeon House, if there be fresh water there for the troops, it certainly would afford many advantages which must be obvious to your lordship. The state

of the field-train so fully occupies me, that I can hardly turn my mind to what your lordship desires me to consider, because what I do to the field-train I am sure will be right; what I say to you at a distance from a spot I cannot judge of will most probably be wrong; but I shall lose no time in pressing on to Limerick to-morrow, and hope in a few days to be in town, and have the honour of receiving his Excellency's farther commands. I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. Pakenham.

Observations submitted for consideration by Charles Tarrant, Colonel of Engineers.

April 25, 1798.

Provisions.

To prevent the made-up provisions that may be at Waterford, Cork, and Limerick for exportation from being possessed by an enemy, the commanding officers in those districts should have orders to be furnished with weekly returns of such provisions as are in those several towns.

At Waterford, Ross, and Graignemanagh are many boats, that are in the trade for lime, stone, and other articles, that pass up and down the Suir and Barrow Rivers, and may proceed to Dublin by the canal. A list of the boats that each place can furnish should be kept by the commanding officer of that district.

On the landing of an enemy, (south of Waterford) a sufficient number of boats should be engaged, and the provisions immediately put on board, keeping the different properties in separate boats, which should move up the Barrow River, towards or to Dublin, as circumstances may require.

At Cork, the provisions may be best disposed of in ships, and conveyed to the safest ports in Ireland or England.

At Limerick, they may be conveyed by land to such parts as may be deemed the most secure.

On the Rivers Suir, Nore, and Barrow are many flour-mills,

that have large quantities of corn in store, and may supply either friend or foe.

On an invasion, (if in the south) all the flour that can should be conveyed in boats up the Barrow, or by cars towards Dublin.

If the enemy should penetrate far into the country, the mills should be prevented grinding such corn as may be left in store by breaking of the upper stones—as much corn as it was possible to remove having been previously done, to prevent an enemy being supplied with so necessary an article.

On an enemy's landing, the mills should be guarded, and prevented from grinding more corn than will be sufficient to serve the inhabitants adjacent.

To Supply the Troops with Food.

In each district the detachments should be supplied with biscuit for a fortnight at least, and, instead of its being made round, as is usual, to have it in squares of about six inches, which may be made in moulds as easily as of a round form. Where large quantities are stored, it should be in light deal boxes, the inner angles lined with tin, which will keep it much securer from vermin than the present way of stowage, in bags, which are soon perforated, and the biscuits soon reduced to crumbs.

Potatoes may be nearly consumed, or soon rendered barely eatable. Loaves of bread cannot be furnished when the country shall be invaded.

If biscuit is made of a square form, a soldier may carry several days' provision.

Biscuit may be dealt out to the troops, and a fresh supply go on, without any additional expense to Government.

On Ammunition furnished to the Troops.

It has long been the practice to issue, yearly, powder and ball to the regiments in certain quantities; and, whether the former year's allowance had been expended or not in training

the men to the use of arms, there has been a similar supply in the ensuing year, by which there has been a redundancy in store, that has been deemed a lawful perquisite. And I have been informed there has been as much left by one regiment only as cost the Government upwards of £100, which was offered by the quartermaster to the storekeepers for a much less sum: but such deposits cannot now be so easily made, as the delivery is confined to a shorter time.

The disposal of the redundancy of ammunition is an abuse that should have been prevented in time of peace; and, should it go on at this time, it would require an immediate reformation, or the most serious consequences must ensue to the Government.

On a Soldier's Dress.

The hat, as at present cocked, and put on frequently on one side of the head, neither secures his head nor neck from rain, nor screens his eyes from the sun. It is, therefore, not merely a useless part of dress, but is an incumbrance, particularly in windy weather.

It may be reasonably supposed that a soldier's dress for service should be useful, and afford him as much comfort as possible; his eyes should be screened from the sun, when fronting an enemy, and his head, neck, and shoulders guarded from rain, nor should the covering be troublesome in any weather.

Small round hats or caps, with a vizor to turn up occasionally, to which an oil-skin flap that should, when necessary, be fixed thereto, or removed occasionally, would answer both purposes, and contribute much to keep the men in health. The flap would be at the small expence of three shillings.

In one campaign an army becomes much decreased; though but few are killed, yet abundance of the soldiers die, and but few officers. The latter can, in general, when wet, have the comfort of dry clothing; the former often rise, as they lie down, with wet clothing.

The helmet worn by horsemen does not secure their necks

and shoulders against either rain or the stroke of a sabre or sword; and those parts may be supposed to be the most likely to receive such strokes when horsemen charge horsemen.

A flap of leather, lined with woollen cloth, with jointed plates of iron quilted between, that should cover the shoulders, to be annexed to the helmet occasionally, would guard the neck and shoulders both against the sword and rain. When not necessary for those purposes, it may be rolled up and carried with other necessaries. Its price about sixteen or eighteen shillings.

On Infantry being Supplied with Intrenching and other Tools.

There may be many situations in this country, if it should be invaded, where troops may be in distress for want of such implements. As cars or loaded tumbrels, with tools, may be remote, or cannot cross an enclosed country, when a short time lost may have bad consequences, it is proposed that each company of a regiment should have a pickaxe, a spade, and a slashing hook, with a proper handle, to be carried by means of leather straps across the shoulders, the carriers to be relieved on a march.

I have had light ones made for that purpose, and they may be carried without any difficulty; the patterns are in the Ordnance yard.

On Field-artillery being furnished with Intrenching Tools.

There may be situations also that require the immediate application of such tools, when store carriages may be too remote. It is proposed to annex two pickaxes, two spades, and one slashing hook to such gun-carriages as will admit of it. I proposed it to the principal officers of the ordnance; they approved of it.

The Hon. Captain Pakenham to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, April 27, 1798.

My Lord—Since my return to Dublin, I have examined all the avenues about, and all the situations in the town, and find

not one of them capable of being formed into a post either of security or convenience.

The town of Ringsend offers a post which may be made for the present secure against any sudden attack; and the progress of its regular fortifications and buildings may proceed as expeditiously as necessary, without any inconvenience to the defence of the place. It will secure the possession of the South Wall, and of the Pigeon House, which, if his Excellency approves of possessing, should be immediately occupied by troops and artillery. The artillery could be moved either from Laughlinston or from Chapelizod, and the field-train would effectually secure the place from any surprise. Wooden huts from Laughlinston would make accommodation for both men and horses at the Pigeon House; and the Hotel there would hold all the arms and made-up ammunition in the arsenal of Dublin.

At this time, circumstances are particularly favourable for undertaking that work, as the Ballast Office have just determined upon discharging their workmen, who could be immediately engaged in the Ordnance employment. It is necessary to state to your lordship, that a considerable sum of money will be necessary even for the commencement of this work, and that a thousand pounds per week will be as little as can be expected to forward the undertaking with any degree of respectable despatch.

I have the honour, &c.,

T. Pakenham.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Royal Hospital, May 22, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour herewith to transmit to your lordship a letter, dated the 20th inst., from the Hon. Brigadier-General Knox, to the Adjutant-General, acknowledging the receipt of His Excellency's orders on the subject of constituting Enniskillen a garrison town, and enclosing a copy of

his letter on that head to Mr. Stewart, Chief Magistrate, from whom, as well as from the principal people of the town and its vicinity, the general states he has every reason to expect support; but that acquiescence in the system of restraint, necessary to be imposed, will be voluntary, unless the express power of the military commandant shall be authorized by Act of Parliament; and further observing, that the power to remove persons of suspicious character is most essential, and without which, in the present times, no fortified place containing large quantities of ordnance and commissariat stores can be secure; that a fortified town in Ireland is a new case, nor does he think the circumstances of this country would justify following precisely the precedents afforded by Portsmouth and Plymouth, and therefore submitting whether military regulations should not be established by law in such towns as Government may think proper to fortify for the protection of magazines, arms, stores, &c.

I request you will be pleased to lay Brigadier-General Knox's letter and its enclosure before the Lord-Lieutenant, and signify to me his Excellency's pleasure thereon.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

G. Lake.

Enniskillen, May 20, 1798.

Sir—I yesterday received your letter of the 17th, enclosing a copy of Lord Castlereagh's letter to General Lake, on the subject of constituting Enniskillen a garrison town.

I enclose a copy of the letter I have written to Mr. Stewart, Chief Magistrate. I have every reason to expect support from him and from the principal people of the town and vicinity; but acquiescence in the system of restraint that it must be necessary to impose, will be voluntary, unless the express power of the military commandant shall be authorized by Act of Parliament.

The power to remove persons of suspicious character is

most essential, and without which, in the present times, no fortified place containing large quantities of ordnance and commissariat stores can be secure.

A fortified town in Ireland is a new case, nor would the circumstances of the country justify following the precise precedent afforded by Portsmouth or Plymouth.

I submit, therefore, to General Lake, whether military regulations should not be established by law in such towns as the Government may think proper to fortify for the protection of magazines, arms, stores, &c.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KNOX.

PS. I set out this day to meet the Officers commanding Yeomanry Corps in Cavan, Monaghan, Armagh, and Tyrone, and shall not return here before the 29th, on which day I have appointed the meeting of the yeomanry captains of the County of Fermanagh.

Brigadier-General Knox to William Stewart, Esq., Provost of Enniskillen.

Enniskillen, May 20, 1798.

Sir—In consequence of orders from his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, under date the 16th inst., directing me to declare Enniskillen a garrison town, and for that purpose investing me with plenary authority for establishing such regulations and orders as may be necessary for the security of the town, its stores, &c., it is proposed to state to you, as Chief Civil Magistrate of Enniskillen, the points which seem to me of prime necessity to the carrying into execution this his Excellency's instructions. And I have to require your advice as to the manner by which they may be most effectually enforced; being thoroughly convinced that, in the discharge of this duty, I shall receive the ready and hearty support of yourself, the magistrates, and all others his Majesty's loyal subjects of Enniskillen and its vicinity.

The points immediately occurring are as follows, viz.,

1stly. To ascertain the number of persons inhabiting each house, distinguishing their occupations, and, as far as may be, their characters and principles.

2ndly. To remove from hence those whose characters and principles shall be found such as to render their remaining within the garrison unsafe and impolitic.

3rdly. To fix the hours at which you may think it most convenient to the loyal inhabitants (consistent with the main object of constituting this a garrison town) to have the barriers closed.

4thly. To frame such regulations as may prevent any boat from plying during the night.

5thly. To settle the hour at which it may be necessary, for the preservation of good order in the town, to shut up the public-houses; and under what circumstances, and in what manner, it may be necessary they should be visited by the patroles.

Such are the subjects I submit to your discussion; but I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my full confidence in the general loyalty of this town and country—distinguished, as the inhabitants of both have been, in the most critical periods of our own history, by their active attachment to that constitution, for the preservation of which we are now contending. I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. Knox.

Lord Grenville to[1]

Cleveland Row, May 9, 1798.

My dear Lord—I am ashamed to have so long deferred answering your letter; but I had, according to your desire, put it into the Duke of Portland's hands, and I had some idea that he intended writing to you upon the subject, on which, I think, his opinions seem entirely to concur with those which I have been able to form upon it.

[1] It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed.

I have myself no difficulty whatever in saying that, in the case of the fugitives, Parliament ought most certainly to pass acts of attainder in default of their surrendering themselves to justice. It would be best (but I do not think it at all *necessary*) that these bills should be grounded on previous indictments found in the usual course of law. If that cannot be done, there must then, I conceive, be some examination of witnesses, either at the bar of the House of Commons, or in a secret committee, or at least some papers produced to such a committee, such as may personally implicate the individuals in the charge of treason.

You will see, in the last volume of Hatsell, p. 300, several precedents, particularly the first, which support this proceeding; and, as the first immediately followed the Revolution, and the rest are all subsequent to it, no objection can be taken against them.

The case of the Bill which passed the House of Commons in 1689, and was agreed to by the Lords, with amendments, but was then dropped; that of the Earl of Mar, and several others in 1715, and that in 1746 (House of Commons' Journal, April 29, 1746), are all instances where such a bill has proceeded on *viva voce* evidence at the bar of the House of Commons. In Sir J. Fenwick's case, papers only were produced, but I apprehend an indictment had been beforehand against him. In the case of the Pretender, the attainder seems to be grounded on public notoriety alone; and in the other cases mentioned by Hatsell, there had been a previous impeachment carried up to the bar of the House of Lords. The cases in the preceding century are of less authority; but in most, if not all, there seems to have been some *viva voce* evidence heard at the bar. I have not the Commons' Journals of the Irish Parliament, and therefore have not looked into the proceedings on originating the Bills of Attainder, which, I think I recollect, passed there in 1689, or thereabouts. But, upon the whole, I have no doubt, that if stronger ground can-

not be had, the Report of a Committee, stating the existence of a treasonable conspiracy, and charging individuals by name, as persons who appear to have been engaged in that conspiracy, and who have fled the country, would be sufficient ground for a bill of attainder in default of surrender. Nor do I think this proceeding will be nugatory: because, 1. You could thereby confiscate their property, and attaint their blood in Ireland; whereas, no process of outlawry would stand against the allegation, even of the most trivial omission or error, supposing the criminals to return and offer themselves to trial, after the evidence is either dead or bought off. And, 2. You might easily, and without the possibility of objection, add to such a bill a clause of the same nature with that in Atterbury's bill, by which all correspondence and intercourse between him and the King's subjects was absolutely prohibited.

If this view of the subject is right, it remains to consider what is fit to be done in the cases of the traitors who have been arrested, and are now in confinement; but against whom it may not be possible to bring such evidence of guilt as will suffice to convict them in the ordinary course of law. With respect to them, the decision is less pressing, because the suspension of the Habeus Corpus Act allows you to detain them in custody, and no man can doubt that their cases are precisely those which the Suspension Act was intended to provide for. In the interval, it is possible that fresh evidence may be procured; that the measures taken for suppressing the Rebellion may give more confidence to the witnesses whom you already have, and, by removing from their minds the terror under which they now labour, may induce them to consent to be brought forward—or that the course of affairs may be such as to produce a more evident and unquestionable necessity for a Parliamentary proceeding. If, however, that necessity is conceived to exist already, and there are certainly strong grounds for that opinion, I conceive the whole question will then turn on a comparison of expediency, which it is hardly possible to decide but upon the spot.

That a bill of pains and penalties, not going to life or limb, in cases where legal evidence is wanting (and that by the act of the criminal, or by the nature of the conspiracy), but when the guilt is manifest, and is of a nature which, if legally proved, would affect his life, that such bills are consonant to the principle and practice of our constitution, is of itself undeniable; but it is, besides, established beyond dispute, by the precedent in Atterbury's case, which I think appears to have been extremely well considered, and conducted with great judgment and temper.

But neither the principle nor the advantage of such a proceeding applies, except in the instance of one or two (or possibly three or four) leading conspirators, by whose punishment and removal from the means of doing mischief the course of this conspiracy will be either totally stopped, or at least very greatly impeded; because no precedent or analogy would bear you out in applying this mode of proceeding to numerous bodies of men, and thus appearing to supersede the ordinary law and course of justice, not in individual cases, but in the general punishment of all treasons.

Now I am hardly enough informed of the state of Ireland to judge whether there are any such individuals amongst the traitors, nor, if there are, whether they are among the prisoners. Perhaps Lord E. Fitzgerald and O'Connor may be of this description; but the former would be reached by the proceeding against fugitives; and, as the latter is to be tried here, it would be hardly possible to attaint him after acquittal, if that should be the issue.

Whether there are any one or two others, whose example would be sufficiently marked to operate to any great degree, either to deter others or to maim the conspiracy, you alone can judge; but, unless that is the case, I should certainly not advise the proceeding by bill against them; at least, not till the time arrives when you must decide between that course and the letting them be discharged from confinement, without trial or punishment of any kind.

I have written you a very long letter, and on a subject on which I must, of course, be understood to be giving you only my own opinions. But of those I owe you on every account the most unreserved communication; and I have no other wish than that they may be of some use to you. But, as such a correspondence is of course quite extra-official, you will have the goodness not to let it go beyond yourself, unless you should have any wish to show it to the Chancellor or to Lord Castlereagh, to neither of whom I can have any desire to make the least exception.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

GRENVILLE.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 12, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, by the Duke of Portland's direction, the extracts of two letters, and an enclosure in one of them from Lord Bulkeley to Mr. Secretary Dundas, giving some information of a person who has been connected with the Corresponding Society, and suggesting that some restriction should be made with respect to the granting of passports between Holyhead and Dublin; and I am to desire that your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, and submit to his Excellency's consideration whether any regulations can with propriety be adopted on either side of the water, in the mode of granting passports from one country to the other.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Viscount Bulkeley to Mr. Secretary Dundas.

Baronhill, Anglesey, May 1, 1798.

I don't know whether you will think me too officious or not, but the enclosed struck me as of too much importance not to

be communicated to Government. Should you wish for the gentlemen's names, I will send them to you by return of post. I cannot help thinking that it would be very advisable, at the present moment, to be much more strict about passports at Holyhead than they are at present. The disloyal disposition of the lower Irish is too notorious not to require much attention.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Viscount Bulkeley to Mr. Secretary Dundas.

April 30, 1798.

I have just discovered that a man at Beaumaris, of the name of Lloyd, was a correspondent of the London Corresponding Society, and connected with Cowdery, a printer at Manchester, whose sons are now in custody in London. I always suspected him; but it is lately only he has been discovered, and he is now at Chester. I shall to-morrow send you some curious particulars of a conversation between a gentleman and an Irishman at Chester, on a mistake of his taking the gentleman for Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I cannot help hinting that an eye to the Irish at this moment is almost as necessary as to the French, and that more strictness should be adopted at Holyhead about the passports, and the same at Dublin. If you will give us power here, we will do our duty.

On Sunday night, the 22nd of April, a gentleman who was walking in one of the streets of Chester, was addressed by a man, meanly dressed, and apparently off a journey. His address was thus:—"My Lord Edward, I am glad to see you; we thought you had got safe to France." It struck the gentleman there might be a possibility of gaining some important information relative to the affairs of Ireland by carrying on the deception. He, therefore, acknowledged he was Lord Edward Fitzgerald and his countryman. The man immediately griped the gentleman by the hand, and gave him a particular pressure upon the knuckle of the fore-finger, which the gentleman returned. The gentleman immediately inquired

when he left Ireland; he was informed on Thursday last. The gentleman then put several questions to the man as to the situation of matters; he gave only this answer. "All is not well as we could wish. I am much fatigued to-night; but, if you will be here to-morrow morning exactly at ten o'clock, you will see me sitting on one of those steps;" (pointing, at the same time, to steps which led up to a particular house) "you will look hard at me, and I will follow you to the wall of the city, where we can converse without suspicion." We parted for the night.

The gentleman had a friend at the inn to whom he communicated what had passed. It was resolved that his friend should pass as his cousin, and also be present at the conversation which was to take place next morning.

In the morning, the stranger was punctual to his appointment; and, when they arrived at a part of the city-wall convenient for conversation, the gentleman again put the same question as last night, and received the same answer. The gentleman then inquired how the military stood affected. The answer was, "The militia are all our own, except a black sheep here and there; but you know we can easily dispose of them. We have also gained over most of the Scotch Fencible regiments, but we cannot make anything of the English regiments." He then, without being asked the question, said, "I doubt they are hurting the cause in the south; they have begun too soon. They are more cautious in the north, and still continue to pay their rents. It will yet," he added, "be some time before the general burst is made." He also added, that they were playing the fool in Dublin by being so premature. I then inquired where Sir Watkin Wynne's regiment was. He told me they were gone to the south; and it was determined that not a man of that regiment should be in existence in the course of a few weeks, as they had done too much mischief in the north. I then inquired if he knew what the intentions of the French were. He told me that

the last accounts were, as soon as their forces were assembled and all ready, their intentions were to invade Ireland in three different places, viz., Belfast, the Shannon, and Londonderry. He said a regular correspondence was carried on with France. He said, also, that there was not a blacksmith in Dublin but was now busy in making pikes, &c. He added, "If you please, my Lord, I can go over to Dublin, and bring you the most exact information of every thing in the course of four days. Give me only a letter signed by yourself to any of your friends, and I'll perish in the attempt rather than fail."

I regretted much I was not acquainted with Lord Edward's writing, otherwise the most complete intelligence might have been had. The man would not go over unless I wrote. Had I written, it must have produced a discovery, without having any good effect. I then consulted with my friend, who was present at the conversation, whether we should apprehend the man. Upon mature deliberation, we thought it better not; as we were convinced he would deny every thing. I have, however, mentioned what passed to a gentleman, who is of opinion that it is of such consequence that it ought to be transmitted to his Majesty's ministers.

PS. I forgot to mention one thing, which was, the moment the general revolt was to take place, every man well affected to Government was to be murdered, as well as all the officers who were not United Irishmen.

This man also said that he was from a place called Glenevy, in the north of Ireland; that he was obliged to fly from thence to Dublin; that he was the eleventh man, as he called it, that was sworn as a United Irishman at the beginning of the business; that he himself could, at a moment's warning, bring into the field from five to six thousand stanch United men, who would lose their lives a hundred times over rather than recede one iota from the cause they had embarked in; and he was convinced that every United Irishman would suffer in the same manner, rather than give it up. And, as to the Oath

of Allegiance, which Government obliged them to swallow last summer, they did not mind it one farthing, further than it served to protect their property from being destroyed by the military. I think, as far as my recollection serves me, I have given the substance of what passed.

I inquired from the man how it was possible he could either carry a letter to Ireland, or bring back an answer without being suspected. His answer was, "*Look at this shoe*," which he produced. The outer sole of the shoe was open, and a cavity within, so as to contain a letter; which letter he could cover with strong paper, and have the shoe sewed up, and the letter brought safe. This man informed my friend and myself, that, as the races were approaching, he must be out of the way to avoid suspicion. He said it was an unlucky affair, the Manchester business not succeeding. He had heard of it in Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin, May 20, 1798.

Sir—I had the honour of receiving your despatch, enclosing some information from Chester, transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Portland by Lord Bulkeley, duplicates of which had been, some time since, forwarded to the Lord-Lieutenant by his lordship. In answer to that part of your letter which relates to establishing some more strict regulations in respect to persons passing between the two countries, I am to inform you that his Excellency has given directions that no passengers shall be permitted to sail from any of the ports of this kingdom without proper passports; and I am to request you will inform me whether similar directions may not be given in England, so as to enable the officers here to require similar vouchers for persons arriving in Ireland.

The particulars I had the honour of sending you, in respect to Lord Edward's arrest, being collected hastily, were not perfectly accurate, the information of Mr. Swan [1] was this day

[1] Town-Major of Dublin.

taken, a copy of which will be transmitted by his Excellency, with other important papers. This event has produced a considerable effect on the Rebels within the metropolis; their adherents in the country, although in some districts inclined to a desperate effort, are in many subdued, and are delivering up their pikes in great quantities. I have referred the papers, relative to the Turkish ship, by the Lord-Lieutenant's orders, to the Attorney-general for his advice, and shall have the honour of writing to you further on the subject in a few days. Mr. Ryan is not yet dead.[1]

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Address of the Rev. Dr. Troy to the Clergy of his Diocese.

May, 1798.

Rev. Sirs—The following lines are to be distinctly read at each Mass, until further directions from, Rev. Sirs,

Your very humble Servant in Christ,

JOHN THOMAS TROY.

To the Rev. Pastors and other Roman Catholic Clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin.

Whit Sunday, May 27, 1798.

Dearest Brethren—In the present awful and alarming period, when every good subject, every good Christian, views, with grief and horror, the desperate and wicked endeavours of irreligious and rebellious agitators to overturn and destroy the Constitution, we should deem ourselves criminal in the sight of God, did we not, in the most solemn and impressive manner, remind you of the heinousness of violating the laws of our country, and of attempting, by insurrection and murder, to subvert the Government of our gracious king; to whom the allegiance we conscientiously owe, in common with all our other fellow-subjects, has been, with regard to most of us, solemnly attested in the presence of God, by the religious bond of an oath.

[1] He was very severely wounded in the desperate resistance made by Lord Edward Fitzgerald at the time of his apprehension.

Let no one deceive you by wretched impracticable speculations on the rights of man and the majesty of the people, on the dignity and independence of the human mind, on the abstract duties of superiors, and exaggerated abuses of authority—fatal speculations, disastrous theories; not more subversive of social order and happiness, than destructive of every principle of the Christian religion. Look at the origin and progress of these detestable doctrines. Their atheistical authors, seeing the intimate connexion between religious and civic principles, beheld with the envious malignity of demons the mutual support they afforded to each other for the spiritual and temporal advantage of man; and, accordingly, prepared the dreadful career of anarchy, by the propagation (too successful, alas!) of impiety and licentiousness.

We bitterly lament the fatal consequences of this anti-Christian conspiracy. But surely, my brethren, your known attachment to the principles of religion ought to have preserved you from the destroying influence of such complicated wickedness. Yes, dearest Catholics, it is to the benign principles of the Christian religion that we recal your serious attention at this important crisis. They will shield you from the evils which surround us. Submission to established authority and obedience to the laws are amongst the duties prescribed by religion; every violation of these duties is highly criminal. Wherefore, if any amongst you have been unfortunately seduced into a combination against the State, under any pretext whatsoever, you are bound in conscience to instantly withdraw yourselves from it, and by sincere repentance and future loyal conduct atone for your past sinful temerity. Without this sincere sorrow and promise of amendment, you cannot expect absolution in the tribunal of penance, nor mercy from Government. Neither one nor the other is extended to impenitent sinners or offenders, without profanation or injustice.

Resolve then, we beseech you, to deliver up your arms of every kind, without delay or reluctance, to those appointed to

receive them. Unite with all your loyal and peaceable fellow-subjects to put down and crush the wicked spirit of insurrection, so disgraceful to the character of Irishmen.

It has already produced the most horrid effects. Assassinations, murders, atrocities of every kind, have been committed. Lose not a moment to manifest your detestation of the principles and causes leading to such consequences. The shortest delay in complying with this religious duty will be justly considered as an indication of disloyalty; you will be considered as enemies to the State, and subjected to a sudden death, under the operation of martial law, already proclaimed. Your property, your very existence, are endangered by a suspicious or equivocal conduct. It must be open, candid, and decided in supporting Religion and the Constitution.

We exhort you then, in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ, whose will we are bound to announce and explain to you, to keep stedfast in the faith; to lead sober, righteous, and godly lives, giving offence to no one, to fear God, and honour the King.

May the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which the Church invokes this day on the whole body of the faithful, fill your hearts with an ardent love of God and man! May the peace of God, which surpasseth every understanding, preserve your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus! Amen!

J. T. T.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, May 31, 1798.

Sir—I had the honour of receiving two despatches by the last mail, enclosing the information of R—, and also papers relative to the regulations established in the western parts of England in respect to persons passing from this country.

I have this day been favoured with your letter enclosing the cipher found in Mr. O'Connor's razor-case.[1] I am happy to

[1] In the month of February, the leaders of the conspiracy of the United Irishmen addressed a letter to the French Directory, urging them to send

receive so strong an opinion as Judge Buller's of its importance, with a view to proceedings against him here. Information is now extensively received against the principal leaders of the treason from their alarmed associates, and I trust we shall find some persons sufficiently acquainted with Mr. O'Connor's proceedings in Ireland to place his conviction beyond a doubt.

The rebels still continue in force in the Counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, Carlow, Meath, and King's County; it is difficult to bring them to any decisive action. They commit horrid cruelties, and disperse as soon as the troops appear. Should the insurrection confine itself within the present limits, a short time will dispose of it. There are some unpleasant appearances in certain parts of the North, but as yet all is in fact quiet in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. There has appeared a considerable inclination amongst the insurgents in Kildare to surrender their arms and leaders, and submit themselves to the mercy of Government. Directions have been given to the generals to avail themselves of this disposition, without relaxing their military operations against the more determined insurgents, and in such a manner as in no degree to compromise the dignity of the King's Government.

The spirit of the country rises with its difficulties. Should the rebellion prove only partial, aided by the reinforcements expected from England, I look with confidence to the issue,

all the troops that could be spared to their succour: but, so completely was the intercourse with the Continent intercepted through the vigilance of the British Government, that this letter failed to reach its destination. To put an end to the state of uncertainty in which they were left, Arthur O'Connor, one of the Directors of the United Irishmen, set out for Paris, to learn what they had to expect from the French Government. Travelling through England with this object, he was apprehended, with four of his associates, at Margate, where they were endeavouring to procure a passage to France. The prisoners were conveyed to London, and committed to the Tower. On the 21st of March they were tried at Maidstone, and all acquitted, with the exception of Coigly, or Quigly, who was found guilty, and executed on the 7th of May.

which, if fortunate, cannot fail to place this kingdom, and of course the empire, in a state of security much beyond that in which it has stood for years past.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, June 1, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of this date, accompanied by a copy of a letter from His Royal Highness the Duke of York to the Duke of Portland, stating the reinforcement in his Royal Highness's contemplation to send to this country, and his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant desires that I will give my opinion as to the *nature* of the force and the number of troops which the present circumstances of this country require.

In answer to which I think it my duty to state that, from the nature of this country, inaccessible to cavalry in many parts, owing to morasses, craggy mountains, woods, and narrow passes, (of which the rebels have already discovered sufficient knowledge to avail themselves) it appears to me that, although an increase of cavalry must always be acceptable, it is desirable the reinforcement intended for this country should consist more of infantry than of cavalry.

As to the number of troops the present circumstances require, it is a difficult point to ascertain; but the insurrection throughout the whole of this part of the country being so general, and appearing rather to increase than to subside, it is certainly highly desirable that as many troops as can be spared from other service should be sent to reinforce the army here, and that with as much despatch as possible, effectually to disconcert the plans of the rebels, and disperse them before they become more formidable from numbers, or acquire confidence from any other circumstance.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

G. Lake.

The Duke of Portland to T. Daniel, Esq., Mayor of Bristol.

Whitehall, June 5, 1798.

Sir—I have just received your letter of yesterday's date, and beg to assure you of my entire approbation of the measures you have adopted for carrying into effect his Majesty's commands for preventing persons from landing at your port from Ireland.

With respect to those who are at present detained by you, as, from particular circumstances, it was not in their power to procure passports from the Lord-Lieutenant at the time they left Ireland, I desire you will take the trouble of making every possible inquiry concerning their characters and connections, and their motives for coming to this country; and that you will then exercise your own discretion as to the propriety of permitting them to proceed to their several destinations; and, in order to obviate any inconvenience that may arise to individuals, you will in future consider yourself at liberty, whenever it shall appear to you on due inquiry that any persons arriving in your port from Ireland had not the means of procuring proper passports in that country, and that they are, in other respects, persons of fair character, to permit them to proceed on their journeys without waiting for an official communication from me: and I take this opportunity of mentioning to you that passports from the officers commanding his Majesty's forces in any of the districts in Ireland are to be considered of the same effect as passports from the Lord-Lieutenant.

From the attention you have already shown in carrying into effect his Majesty's commands, I am confident that you will continue to act with that prudence and discrimination which the public safety and the attention due to individuals require.

I am, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Duke Street, Friday, June 8, 1798.
30 m. past 10, P.M.

My Lord—In explanation of the letter which your Lordship will receive from me, together with this, (marked secret) it may perhaps be necessary that I should inform your Lordship that the information from Paris, to which I there alluded, is *that* which was enclosed in my letter marked *Private and Secret* of the 25th May, and also that almost the whole of that information has been confirmed by a communication from a person at Hamburg, who must necessarily have derived his intelligence from a very different source, and who could not but be ignorant of *that* from which R— had procured all that he has communicated to us. Your Lordship will be surprised at receiving this letter, and those which will accompany it from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Pelham to his Excellency, by an extraordinary messenger, without anything from the Duke of Portland. The fact is that, after waiting to this hour for his Grace's despatch, which was to have been sent to me from Burlington House, I have just discovered that his private secretary had put it into the common post; I trust therefore that I am committing no indiscretion if, without authority, I venture to inform your Lordship that, in addition to the reinforcement of 3000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, already under orders, and in part, I hope, arrived in Ireland, his Majesty's ministers have this day advised the King to send 5000 more infantry (2000 of the Guards) *without delay* to such parts of the kingdom as his Excellency, in his despatches of to-day, seems to point out as standing most in need of reinforcement, viz., the Guards to Waterford, embarking at Portsmouth, (I hope, on Wednesday or Thursday next) and the remaining 3000 from Scotland to the North of Ireland.

His Excellency would, I fear, be much surprised at receiving the official despatch, announcing the nature and extent of the

first reinforcement, sent to Ireland a day later than the private letter which his Grace had written and sent off on the 4th of June, the more so as his Grace's letter referred to the official despatch as sent off the same day. I therefore take this opportunity of mentioning to your Lordship, that the fault was entirely my own, and that my concern for the mistake is as great as the occasion seems to require, which is really saying a great deal; for I can conceive that the anxiety you must have felt on this occasion must have been of no common kind. I have many thanks to give your lordship for the obliging and interesting communications I have lately received from you; and though I answer them for this time in so hasty and imperfect a manner, I entreat your lordship to believe me to be highly sensible of the honour you confer on me by your correspondence, and I am ever, with great respect and regard,

Yours, &c.,

W. WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, June 8, 1798.

My Lord—It was the Duke of Portland's intention to have written at length to the Lord-Lieutenant by this day's post, to have communicated to his Excellency the circumstances under which his Majesty's confidential servants had found it necessary to take into custody and detain several natives of Ireland now resident here, of whose intimate connection and correspondence with the leaders and inciters of the present rebellion in Ireland there was no room whatever to doubt.

But, as many weighty reasons have concurred to render it expedient that the examinations of these persons before the Lords of the Privy Council should be deferred for some days longer, his Grace has directed me to inform your lordship, and to desire that you would communicate this information to the Lord-Lieutenant, that the Honourable Mr. L———, Mr.

S., of Acton, and Messrs. A., C, and T., of the Temple, have been apprehended here, and Messrs. M'G. and D. at Liverpool; and that warrants for apprehending the following persons have been granted, though not yet executed, viz., Dr. O'K., a person of the name of C., of Abbey Street, Dublin, and Mr. H., who, from secret information received here, appears to be the person appointed to sign the certificates of United Irishmen in this country, which same information has been amply confirmed by certificates to that effect, signed by H., having been found in the box belonging to J. B., in which O'C.'s passport was discovered.[1] It appears, as well from the secret information of which his Grace has long been in possession, as from a late confidential report from Paris, with which I have good reason to believe that your Lordship is acquainted, and from most secret though accurate intelligence received from Hamburgh, *the whole* confirmed by the testimony of the *two gentlemen recommended* to me by Mr. Cooke, one of whom is now at Dublin, and can explain to your Lordship all that has fallen within his own observation (all these different informations mutually confirming each other, though derived from different channels, and from individuals wholly unconnected with, and unacquainted with, each other) that all these persons were more or less deeply implicated in the treasonable conspiracy in Ireland; that they had all knowledge of the connection between the traitors in that country and the French Directory, or its ministers, and had given aid and countenance to the agents who have at different times been sent over from one country to the other; that some of them were engaged in a direct correspondence with the enemy; and that they were all of them endeavouring to propagate their detestable principles among their own countrymen here, with a degree of activity and zeal that rendered it a duty incumbent on his Majesty's

[1] B., a noted member of the London Corresponding Society, was, as well as O'C., of the party apprehended with O'Connor at Margate.

confidential servants, for the safety of both countries, from the instant that the Rebellion in Ireland had broken out, to take effectual measures for preventing them from doing any further mischief to either the one or the other.

It is evident, under the present circumstances, and with the evidence of the nature of that of which Government here is at present in possession, strong and decisive as it is, that none of these persons can be brought to trial without exposing secrets of the last importance to the State, the revealing of which may implicate the safety of the two kingdoms. But, as it is possible in the course of the discoveries which his Majesty's Government in Ireland has been lately, and may still be, enabled to make, that something may appear of a *public nature*, that may tend directly to affect some or more of the prisoners, either in this country or in Ireland, his Grace has no doubt that his Excellency will, in either case, give directions that such evidence may be immediately communicated to him, to the intent that each person so affected by it may either be proceeded against in due course of law, or removed to Ireland, to be tried in that country, in case his Majesty's Government there shall think proper to demand him, according to the nature of each offence, and the country where it shall have been committed. There are some papers found in Mr. L.'s possession that tend directly to show his connection with some of the most desperate of the Republican party here, as well as with those who are in habitual communication with the French agents at Hamburg; and his Grace is in daily expectation of some material evidence from that place, tending more directly to implicate that gentleman in a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. M'G. and D. will be detained at Liverpool until his Grace shall have heard from the Lord-Lieutenant, whether his Excellency would wish to have them sent over to Ireland or detained here. The gentleman recommended to me by Mr. Cooke, who is now at Dublin, will give your Lordship full information as to the conduct and connec-

tions of these two persons during their residence here: when apprehended, they were both of them seeking a passage to Belfast.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Private. Dublin Castle, June 12, 1798.

Sir—I am honoured this day with your letter of the 8th, the military intelligence of which will prove most acceptable on this side of the water. It is of importance that the authority of England should decide this contest, as well with a view to British influence in Ireland, as to make it unnecessary for the Government to lend itself too much to a party in this country, highly exasperated by the religious persecution to which the Protestants in Wexford have been exposed.

In that county, it is perfectly a religious phrensy. The priests lead the rebels to battle: on their march, they kneel down and pray, and show the most desperate resolution in their attack. The enclosed certificate is curious, as marking the complexion of the rebellion in that quarter. They put such Protestants as are reported to be Orangemen to death, saving others upon condition of their embracing the Catholic faith. It is a Jacobinical conspiracy throughout the kingdom, pursuing its object chiefly with Popish instruments; the heated bigotry of this sect being better suited to the purpose of the republican leaders than the cold, reasoning disaffection of the northern Presbyterians. The number of the insurgents is great,—so great as to make it prudent to assemble a very considerable force, before any attempt is made to penetrate that very difficult and enclosed country.

The conduct of the Militia and Yeomanry has, in point of fidelity, exceeded our most sanguine expectations. Some few corps of the latter, and but very few in that vast military establishment, have been corrupted; but in no instance has

the Militia failed to show the most determined spirit. In this point of view, the insurrection, if repressed with energy, will have proved an invaluable test of our national force, on the disaffection of which our enemies either actually did, or professed, very extensively to rely.

I have communicated with Mr. Cooke, relative to the persons either actually in custody in England, or whom it is in contemplation to apprehend, except against M'G., whose name you will find in the information from Ulster, as assisting at some of the deliberations of the provincial meeting. Our evidence is of a very general nature; I therefore submit the expediency of detaining all the prisoners in England till this country is either quieter, or till we may succeed in obtaining more direct proofs against them.

It has been thought expedient to adjourn the Special Commission for a fortnight, the situation of the country being such as to deprive proceedings, by due course of law, of any character, and of course of any weight.

I have the honour, &c.,

PS.—By accounts from the North to-day, there does not appear, as yet, any extension of the evil in that province. In some parts of Antrim, the principle of property, I suspect, rather than repentance, has induced a partial submission. Our information, which has hitherto proved most lamentably true, states that Down and Antrim are to move before the other Counties;—this has happened;—that the other Counties are to follow; and that the rising is to be general between the 11th and 20th. I hope for once we shall be deceived.

Lord Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Lake.

June 14, 1798.

Sir—As the disturbed state of the provinces has made, and may continue to make, it necessary to detach from Dublin a

very considerable proportion of its usual garrison from it, his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant desires that every precautionary measure should be adopted to strengthen the metropolis against any surprise which might be attempted by the disaffected, either from within or without the town.

I am therefore to request that you will take this subject into your consideration, and report to me as speedily as possible, for his Excellency's information, the military arrangements which appear to you best calculated to place the metropolis in a secure state of defence.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, June 16, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 14th inst., accompanied by a copy of a copy marked *secret* from his Grace the Duke of Portland to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, together with a copy of a letter with its enclosures which his Grace had received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, explaining the nature and extent of the whole of the reinforcement which his Majesty has been pleased to send from Great Britain, and signifying his Excellency's desire that I will take these several papers into consideration, and report to his Excellency my opinion thereon.

I request your Lordship will be pleased to acquaint his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that I have carefully perused the several papers in question, and that nothing shall be wanting on my part to fulfil the orders and intentions of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. I at the same time regret it should so happen that the arrangement destined to reinforce the North should interfere with Major-General Nugent's command of that district; and I think it my duty to observe, for his Excellency's consideration, that, in the critical situation of affairs in that part of the kingdom, where Major-

General Nugent's long and intimate knowledge of men and circumstances, and his judicious application of it, have produced the happiest and most promising effects, the removal of him from that command might be attended with very bad consequences to the service.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

G. Lake.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Carnew, June 19, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that, on my way to this place yesterday, about two miles from it, the rebels were discovered in great force upon Kilkaven Hill. I sent forward to communicate with Lieutenant-General Dundas, and found he was about a mile in front; and, in hopes of bringing the rebels to action on my getting up, I formed the column opposite to the rebels' position. They were posted to great advantage upon very strong ground, and had taken every precaution to resist an attack.

The approaches to the hill were examined with every possible attention; and, finding it impracticable, without certain and great loss, and at the hazard of interfering with the combined object against Wexford, it was thought advisable to proceed to this place, in hopes of being able to make the attack with greater advantage this morning, for which measures were accordingly taken; but, in the morning, it was discovered that the rebels had decamped. From the best information I can procure, they have retired to Caregrew Hill, a post six miles from hence on the way to Enniscorthy. All the columns are arrived at their destination, and we shall proceed to-morrow in conjunction.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

G. Lake.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Enniscorthy, June 21, 1798.

My Lord—I am rejoiced to send you the enclosed account, which I hope will please your Lordship and the country in general. The troops behaved excessively well in action, but their determination to destroy every one they think a rebel is beyond description, and wants much correction. You will see, by the enclosed letter and address from Wexford, what an unpleasant situation I am led into by Lord Kingsborough. My intention is at present to march near Wexford to-morrow, and insist upon their leader being given up, which I think myself obliged to do, according to orders issued by Government, and more particularly so, as the people of Wexford have done so much mischief. It seems somewhat extraordinary that the address should be signed by Mr. Keugh.

I address this to you, thinking Lord Camden might be gone. If he is not, I will beg my best respects to him, and that you will believe me,

With great truth, &c.,

G. Lake.

I write in great haste.

Lord Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Lake.

Dublin Castle, June 22, 1798.

Sir—I have had the honour of receiving your despatch dated Enniscorthy, the 21st June, which I have laid before the Lord-Lieutenant. His Excellency will express to you his approbation and satisfaction at everything you have done, and I sincerely congratulate you upon your successes at Vinegar Hill.

I consider the rebels as now in your power, and I feel assured that your treatment of them will be such as shall make them sensible of their crimes, as well as of the authority

of Government. It would be unwise, and contrary, I know, to your own feelings, to drive the wretched people, who are mere instruments in the hands of the more wicked, to despair. The leaders are just objects of punishment; and the situation of the rebel army such, that you may fairly make the terms you give them rather an act of voluntary clemency than conditions extorted by the rebels with any prospect on their part of successful resistance.

I need not add more. The Lord-Lieutenant will himself convey to you his sentiments.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Wexford, June 22, 1798.

My Lord—I received yours, and return you many thanks for the information of the two regiments of militia from England. I sincerely hope they may soon return, as this country will soon be settled; as I believe the lower order of people are heartily sick of the business, and are abusing their leaders most completely, and will bring in their arms in a day or two; in short, I have every reason to hope that a few days will settle the business here.

I have taken Hay, one of their commanders, yesterday. He will be tried this evening, and most probably executed. If I hear of any assembly of men, you may depend upon their having a complete drubbing; but I strongly suspect they will not try the chance of another. The carnage yesterday was dreadful. The rascals made a tolerable good fight of it.

In great haste, most faithfully yours,

G. Lake.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Wexford, June 23, 1798.

My Lord—I have every reason to think matters will be settled shortly to the satisfaction of Government. I believe

we shall have most of their generals. Roach has been tried this day, and will be executed, as will Keugh, who was both general, adviser, governor of the town, &c. I really feel most severely the being obliged to order so many men out of the world; but I am convinced, if severe and many examples are not made, the Rebellion cannot be put a stop to. I believe Cooke knows a good deal of Keugh. I am in great hopes of catching Bagnell Hervey.[1] A Mr. Grogan, a man of £6000

[1] Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, of Bargey Castle, in the County of Wexford, possessed before the Rebellion an estate of about £2000 a-year, and was in considerable practice as a barrister. He was a member of the first Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, who professed to limit their views to a reform in Parliament and Catholic emancipation. How far he had connected himself with the schemes of a later period, I am unable to explain. On the breaking out of the insurrection in the County of Wexford, in the month of May, orders from Dublin directed the apprehension of Harvey, and of his brother magistrates, Mr. Fitzgerald of New Park, and John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteigne. They were accordingly seized and committed to Wexford gaol; but two of them at a time were permitted by the magistrates and military officers to be at large on condition that they would endeavour to prevail on the insurgents to disperse. When the rebels gained possession of Wexford, they found Harvey there, and compelled him to assume the command of their force. Captain Keogh was in like manner obliged to take upon himself the military command of the town; and Cornelius Grogan, of Johnstown, uncle to Colclough, old, infirm, and possessing an estate of £6000 per annum, was taken forcibly, it is alleged, from his house, placed on horseback, and conducted by a great body of armed men to Wexford. After the battle of Ross, Harvey was removed from his unenviable office, and retired to Bargey Castle. When the total rout of the rebels at Vinegar Hill again put the royal troops in possession of the capital of the County, and General Lake issued a Proclamation for the apprehension of all the rebel leaders, Harvey hastened to Ballyteigne to communicate the news to his friend Colclough, but he had already fled, with his wife and child, to the Saltee island, about ten leagues from Wexford, occupied by a tenant of his. Harvey followed him thither, and, their retreat being discovered, they were seized and conveyed to Wexford. There Harvey and Grogan, who had returned to his seat at Johnstown, were tried by a court-martial on the 26th of June, and condemned and executed on the following day on the bridge of Wexford, and Colclough on the 28th.

per annum, is just brought in; what there is against him I don't exactly know; I imagine sufficient to convict him. It has been suggested to me that the surest mode to prevent people in such circumstances concerning themselves in these acts of violence would be to forfeit their estates; but, as I have no wish to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, I shall not think of proposing such an act, but wait your orders upon the subject.

I will beg you to forward the enclosed to Lord Camden, whose departure I most sincerely regret for every reason, and particularly so as I think he would have enjoyed seeing an end to the Rebellion—a time which, in my opinion, is not far off.

I hope all things are going on well about Dublin. I suppose Sir James Stewart has given in his resignation: he seems very angry with me.

Yours faithfully,

G. Lake.

Lieutenant-General Lake to Lord Castlereagh.

Wexford, June 25, 1798.

My Lord—Having this moment received a letter from Sir Charles Asgill, stating that he expected an attack being meditated upon him, and that he was in the want of troops, I have detached two Fencible regiments of infantry to him, and will, if necessary, proceed to his assistance with a sufficient force to crush these villains, if possible; though they spring up like mushrooms; but I am in hopes they must be completely tired out shortly.

We shall get in the arms in this country shortly, and settle it for a time, at least. The horrid cruelties the rascals have committed are beyond all imagination.

I send this, fearing you might be uneasy for Sir Charles Asgill. I trust it will be in my power to manage my force so as to make it of use to every one in this quarter.

I am, my Lord, &c.,

G. Lake.

I have sent to Wales after Bagnell Hervey, and hope to get him. All here is, I think, going on well.

Lord Cornwallis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 15, 1798.

My Lord—I enclose to your Grace a copy of the Message which I propose to send to both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday next, and which will, I trust, appear to you to be written in perfect conformity with the spirit of your private and confidential letter of the 4th instant.

The Chancellor entirely approves of the Message; and although the feeling of some of the most violent may at first revolt against any measure of amnesty to Rebels, I can entertain no doubt that it will be received without much opposition, and perhaps it will be rather desirable to have some debate.

The trial of the Sheareses,[1] which is past, and that of M'Cann, which is to come on to-morrow, will have produced in Court the most material of our evidences for establishing the existence of the Conspiracy. And, as it is an object of importance to the credit of this Government, which has been subjected to much unmerited obloquy, that the grounds on which the Report of the Committee will be founded should be rendered as public as possible, it is a matter of much satisfaction to us that secrecy on this point is no longer necessary.

It would, however, greatly strengthen our cause if we could venture to allow the whole or any part of the correspondence

[1] The brothers, Henry and John Sheares, were bred to the bar, and in the course of a residence of some length in Paris, during the worst period of the Revolution, contracted a strong tincture of republican principles. After the arrest of the leaders of the United Irishmen, at Oliver Bond's, they had the hardihood to assume the office of Directors, and to plan another attempt at rebellion. Betrayed by Captain Armstrong, of an Irish militia regiment, who had wormed himself into their confidence for that express purpose, they were apprehended, and a Proclamation, in the handwriting of the younger brother, John, manifestly designed to be issued as soon as the metropolis should be in their possession, affording but too strong evidence of their guilt, they were tried, condemned, and executed.

with France to be produced in the Report of the Secret Committee; but, as this is a matter of some delicacy, I would not venture to authorize it, without having previously received your Grace's sanction.

If the objections to this measure, from the effect it might have on our future channels of intelligence, should appear to have more weight than the great advantages which may be expected from it, by opening the eyes of all well-disposed persons in Great Britain and Ireland to their common danger, the same reasons may not operate against the production of Dr. M'Nevin's Memoir, which might be supposed to have fallen into our hands by various other means, and which, from its being produced, without connexion with the other Papers, might not create any alarm in the quarter where it is so necessary that the most implicit confidence in our prudence and secrecy should be preserved.

Your Grace will of course be aware that no account will be given, even to the Secret Committee, of the means by which these Papers came into the hands of Government, and that they will only be authenticated by the declaration of the Secretary.

I conclude that it will meet with the approbation of your Grace and His Majesty's other confidential servants, that we should now proceed to submit to the public a statement of the progress of the treason and rebellion in this country, with all the various turns which it has taken, for which we are now provided with ample materials.

I send this letter by a messenger, and shall be much obliged to your Grace for an early answer.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, July 23, 1798. Eight, P.M.

My Lord—I had written this morning, at Bulstrode, a long espatch to your Lordship, on the subject of M. M'Cormick,

which was to have been sent by Boyle, the Messenger, when, on my arrival in town, I learnt that the prisoner had escaped to-day from the custody of Fabiani, the Messenger.

Being persuaded that he never would have been brought to give information against Neilson, I am not clear that his escape will be productive of any very mischievous consequences. After the confession that he has made, his reputation is gone for ever with his own party; and I am persuaded that his confession, certified as it will be by the testimony of Sir Hew Dalrymple and of two other officers of character serving in Guernsey, will have more weight with the public, and will be more generally believed, than if the substance of it had been given in evidence on the trial of any of the prisoners against whom he would have appeared as a witness. Notwithstanding this way of thinking, which I give your Lordship merely as my own, I here, in the absence of the Duke of Portland, have taken every measure in my power to have him apprehended again; and I have no doubt that the Lords of the Council will order a Proclamation to issue on Wednesday, offering a reward to any person who shall apprehend him.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, July 25, 1798.

My Lord—I received in due time the honour of your Excellency's despatch (Secret) of the 15th instant, in which you represent the advantages which might result from laying before the Committees of Secrecy of the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland, the whole, or at least a part, of the very secret and authentic documents relating to the conspiracy in that kingdom, which I had the King's permission, from time to time, to transmit to the late Lord-Lieutenant.

I lost no time in acquainting His Majesty's confidential

servants with your Excellency's sentiments upon this very important and delicate question, and I am now to inform you that, after its having repeatedly undergone the most serious investigation and discussion, the result of our unanimous opinion is, that the communication of the *whole* of those Papers cannot on any account, or in any situation of the country, be suffered to be made to a Parliamentary Committee, under whatever qualification or conditions it may be appointed, consistently with that secrecy which, in certain cases, the honour and safety of the State require to be observed.

We agree, however, in opinion with your Excellency, and for the reasons you have stated, that the same objection does not exist to the production of the greater part of Dr. M'Nevin's Memoir, and I have therefore had an extract made of such parts of it as it appears to us may be laid before the public without inconvenience, which I send enclosed. Impressed also with the same ideas as your Excellency, respecting the effect which must be produced by the whole of the Papers being made fully known, and restrained from it only by the sense of our public duty, we have ventured to have a selection made of some of the most leading facts which they contain, which we think may with safety be laid before the Committees, under the restriction, and in the manner prescribed by your Excellency; but we are persuaded and confidently trust that the communication will not be made to the Committee, *even in this form*, unless your Excellency shall have such reasonable assurance as satisfies you that the Committee will receive the facts, so given, on the authority of your Excellency's sanction, without permitting themselves to make any inquiry or attempt to authenticate them by any other means, and will adopt them and give them as unquestionable truths of their own knowledge, in the Report they will make to the House; and, further to effect this purpose, I am commanded to empower your Excellency to direct your Chief Secretary to make this communication to the Committee, and to authorize

him to declare that His Majesty's confidential servants have most solemnly pledged themselves to you for the authenticity of every fact which it contains.

To prevent as much as possible any occasion being given which can tend to a discovery of the channels by which this intelligence has been obtained, I most earnestly recommend to your Excellency to do your utmost in procuring that the facts which are stated from it may not stand in the Report of the Committee in the exact order in which they are here given, but that they may be mixed with other information which has been derived from other sources; and it appears to me that the measure which your Excellency has so judiciously proposed, in consequence of which "the Committee will lay before the public a circumstantial and detailed statement of the progress of the treason and rebellion, with all the various turns it has taken," will furnish the best of all possible means for effecting this object without any appearance of suspicion or difficulty.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Secret Intelligence from Paris.

April 17th, arrived at Paris.

On the 19th, waited on the Minister for Foreign Affairs; it being Decade, he was gone to the country. Left my name, and called next day at eleven; instantly admitted; talked over the purport of my visit, which I had brought in writing, as follows:—

"Citizen Minister—Since I had the honour of seeing you in September last, I understand attempts have been made to injure my character here by some persons equally despicable as malicious (I mean, Lewines[1] and his associates), from whom, though United Irishmen, I pride myself in differing, both in

[1] An emissary of the United Irish, resident in Paris.

sentiment and conduct; nor should I condescend to answer their infamous charges.

"I, however, take great pleasure in acquainting you with what I have been about, viz., trying to bring over to the side of the United Irish what is called the Independent Interest, *alias* the Country Gentlemen, all of whom have commands either in the Yeomanry or Militia, and to whom the safety of the interior will be entrusted, whilst the regular troops march against the enemy. These gentlemen have always been much against the Government, but feared, in a revolution, the loss of their property, especially such as held their estates by grants of Oliver Cromwell. For some time past, a union has been formed among this body for the purpose of forcing England into whatever measures they choose as soon as an invasion takes place; all of my most particular friends are of this association, and they have infused into the minds of the rest the idea that English faith is not to be relied on. In consequence, they are all now completely up to the formation of a Republic and a separation from Britain, provided the French Directory will give, under their seal, the terms and conditions Ireland has a right to expect and demands. I took upon me to say France never meant to treat Ireland as a conquered country; that, certainly, they would expect a contribution towards defraying the great expense incurred in supporting the cause of liberty; but what the sum would be, I could not take upon me to mention. They insist upon having that specified, and any other conditions for this purpose.

"Citizen Minister, I now apply to you—to none other have I hinted my business, and the most profound secrecy will be requisite, in order to completely deceive the English Government. I shall mention to you the channel of correspondence, &c., with the ciphers I'll make use of, if it is requisite to write, but which I shan't do without your permission, and giving you the letter to enclose to Hamburg.

"I have the honour to remain," &c.

The Minister then said, it was a matter extremely interesting, that other things were on the *tapis* at present, but desired I would call again on the second uneven day from that, and he'd enter into particulars. I did so, and gave him the following letter. He said he had laid my first before the Directory; that their opinions coincided with his, but that they could not give anything under their hands or seal, nor he either; that I had perfectly expressed their intentions. I told him this was perfectly satisfactory to me, but I feared it would not be so to them. "Surely," says he, "they have a confidence in you, and you shall have it from the Directory, if you choose." I said I hoped that would be sufficiently satisfactory to my friends, and begged to know when I could see him again—the 1st of the next Decade, as they were still very busy on other matters.

Copy of the Letter.

Citizen Minister—Wishing to give the Government every satisfaction on the point of my mission, I now have the honour of laying before you every particular. I am extremely glad to find it appears to you interesting, which induces me to hope as little delay will be given as possible. I think it incumbent on me to state to you that the spirit of the North is completely broken, and I fear shortly the rest of Ireland will be in the same predicament. A vast number of the persons concerned in persecuting the United Irish are those from whom I come; for, at present, they dread, and with good reason, the ascendency of this body. As soon as you set these gentlemen's minds at ease, in regard to their property, the business of Revolution will get leave to go on, and the British Government will find themselves clogged in their system of terror, without knowing why. The enclosed paper contains the mode in which I am to act, &c., &c. I have the honour, &c.

Enclosure, containing the ciphers I sent to the Marquess of Downshire, and the following postscript:—

The intention of the ciphers was, if I thought it requisite to

write from Paris to say who I had had communication with, and as a channel of conveying any intelligence you might allow me to send during my stay. The letter to be addressed to Charles Ranken, Esq., at Mr. Elliot's, Pimlico, London, to be put in the common Post Office at Hamburg, and sealed with a particular seal I have for the purpose. As soon as I receive the proper paper or document, in order to save time, I am to get, if possible, into England; if that can't be done with safety, I'm to go to either Bremen or Hamburg, write thence to R., who comes over before him. I attest the business on oath, and he goes instantly for Ireland. R., having been a banker at Belfast, a man of good property, and looked on by Government as a friend, can pass and repass, as if to settle accounts at Hamburg. E. is a subscriber to the Voluntary Contributions,[1] looked on likewise as a friend to Government. I beg leave once more to inform you that delay will be looked on, I fear, as non-compliance; and, if there's any particular point on which you wish for accurate information, I think I can undertake to obtain it.

He seemed to disapprove of my venturing to Ireland or England; asked me if I knew anything of Fitzgerald.

Waited on him the 1st of the following Decade; he said nothing was resolved on. I asked if the Irish were to wait for their coming or not. He said by all means to wait, and not to risk or expose themselves. "May I assure them you'll come in the course of three months?" "No, we cannot fix a time; it may be more, or not so long. I shall depend on you to obtain for me as accurate a statement, with as much information as you can collect." I desired to know on what particular point, otherwise I should be at a loss; he said he could not

[1] The Voluntary Contributions were one of those patriotic demonstrations which marked the spirit of the nation at that period of the contest in which it was engaged. They constituted a fund raised in aid of the Government, to which the ministers, the nobility, and the wealthy of all classes, most liberally subscribed.

mention any particular. I then promised as much as I could collect in general, with a particular and accurate one of Ireland. I then asked if I might venture to assert that the French Government would be content with being paid the expense of their former expedition, and of that which will be sent; that they will leave the Irish to choose a constitution for themselves as soon as English influence is destroyed; guaranteeing to every individual their property, without respect to old Catholic claims and to their political conduct prior to the time of actual invasion. "You may venture to assure them that the property of no individual will be seized upon, but the reverse. On the other points we cannot give an answer."—"When shall I see the Directory?"—"On the 9th of this Decade, I shall speak to the President, and you may bring to me one of your acquaintance that is known to him, who will introduce you;" or that I might go alone, as my name was sufficiently known to him. Between that and the 9th, I spoke to Abbé Gregoire to accompany me; but he declined it, as did Stone; upon which I wrote, on the 8th, to the Minister, to say that these two had refused, and that they thought he himself ought to do it, or give me a note of introduction to the President; but that, if it was disagreeable, I would not press the matter further, as I looked on his word as that of the Directory, and that I would call next day at the Directory, when, if I could get an audience, so much the better; if not, I thought it imprudent to wait longer.

Next day, I called at the Directory, and sent in my name. I there met Duckett, who told me it would be impossible to see any of them that day; for a letter, which he had just brought them, which came from Leonard Bourdon, would give them, he believed, work enough, as he understood it contained some very interesting matter. I was to have seen some of them that day likewise; an answer came to us both that they were too much occupied. I then went to the Minister, and sent in my name, as did, at the same time, Colonel La Harpe

and the Swiss Deputies. We were all sent off, as he was very busy. I left a note with his secretary, saying I would set out next day, which I did, the 20th Floreal, *alias* Wednesday, the 9th; arrived at Cuxhaven the Wednesday following; sailed the next day, landed at Lowestoff on Tuesday morn, got to town that night, accompanied by one Jeffry, who passes himself for a Scotchman, was coming to Yarmouth as an American, was in Paris last September, speaks French as a Frenchman, looks extremely like one, and lodges at the New Hummums, Covent Garden.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. Whitehall, July 23, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to request that your Lordship would inform the Lord-Lieutenant that, in consequence of his Excellency's letter to his Grace, desiring to be permitted to lay a part of the correspondence now in this office before a committee of either House of Parliament in Ireland, copies and extracts were made from that correspondence yesterday, at my Lord Grenville's house, at Dropmore, and that they would have been forwarded to-day to his Excellency, but that Lord Grenville, as well as his Grace, wished to consult Mr. Pitt on the propriety of the measure itself, as well as on the nature and extent of the selection that ought to be made; and, as this cannot be done before Wednesday, it will probably be on that day, or Thursday, only, that these papers will be forwarded to his Excellency.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

William Wickham.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, July 25, 1798.

My Lord — Not having the means of correcting M'N.'s Memorial, which your Lordship will perceive has been most

inaccurately copied, I have sent it to the Duke of Portland in its imperfect state. Your Lordship will, I hope, have the goodness to supply its defects (which are chiefly in the names of places) as well as you can. If I had begun to correct it, I am sure I should have done no good, and might have done some serious mischief, from my ignorance of the real names of many of the towns, and landing-places that are particularly pointed out.

There is an awkwardness in giving this Memorial in French, as it was probably delivered to R. in English, but this is an evil that cannot be remedied, and it may fairly be presumed that the copy has been obtained at Paris, or from R.'s secretary, at Hamburg. This conjecture will be at least as probable as the real one.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, July 25, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to inform your Lordship that I have received intelligence, from a person very much in the confidence of the French minister at Hamburg, that several French officers and soldiers have lately arrived at that place, where they have purchased sailors' dresses, clothed themselves in them, and gone on to Denmark and Sweden, from whence it is intended that they should embark for the North of Ireland. I know not what credit is to be given to this information, which must be received with caution, as it does not appear to have reached his Majesty's minister at Hamburg.

It comes, however, from a person whose reports, while he was in this country, were known to his Excellency as singularly accurate and faithful—the same who gave such an accurate account of the proceedings of O'Connor and Coigley whilst

they were in this country, and on whose authority those persons were apprehended.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, July 25, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple, with a corrected copy of M C.'s confession enclosed, which appears, by the certificate of that general, to have been acknowledged by M'C. himself to have been correctly stated by Colonel Anstruther.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

General Dalrymple to Mr. Wickham.

Guernsey, July 17, 1798.

Sir—I have just received the honour of your letter of the 13th, by Mr. Fabiani, and proceeded to obey the Duke of Portland's commands communicated therein.

The terror which was visible upon M'C.'s countenance, when I myself first questioned him, and which induced me to send him prisoner to Castle Cornet, was probably productive of the voluntary confession which he has since made, first to the officer of the guard in the Castle, (Ensign Jones, of the Invalids) and afterwards to the officers whom I sent over to take his examination.

A few days ago, a letter from Mr. Morgan to Mr. Coppinger was put into my hands. I sent Sir Thomas Saumarez and my aid-de-camp, Captain Leighton, over to examine him upon the contents, and I have the honour to enclose his declaration thereupon. He was not permitted to read the letter, (which he immediately pronounced, from *the writing*, to be

from Mr. Morgan) and there seems somewhat difficult to reconcile in his account of the matter with the letter itself, which circumstance is also perceptible upon comparing his declaration upon Mr. Morgan's letter with his first letter to that gentleman, which I had the honour to transmit in a former despatch.

I have the honour to enclose a Declaration from Messrs. William and George Bell, on which I think the most perfect reliance may be placed. M'C., on his first arrival, named the House of Lanza here as one to which he had been recommended. I have seen Mr. L., who assures me he has no knowledge of Mr. M. or Mr. C., nor connection with either, which I was rather surprised to hear, as I had been informed that he was connected with Mr. Morgan, a man, I understood, of substance. The enclosed letter from Mr. Morgan may perhaps explain why the letters of recommendation (to whoever meant to be addressed) cannot be traced here, as Mr. Jones immediately divulged what the prisoner told him. I suspect that the circumstances of his situation had reached his friends.

M'Cormick declined (but with an appearance of much respect) to sign his declarations, unless I insisted upon it, "as that might tend to his own conviction; and, though he had taken the resolution to avow everything, not only from a sense of his past errors, but *from hope of pardon*, he did not find himself so fully assured of that as he had hoped." He could not explain the contradiction above alluded to; and, upon the whole, I rather think he can still give further proof of contrition by the discoveries he has still to make.

He informed against an Irishman who was sentry near his window some days ago, and who offered to assist his escape; and it is generally thought that, though the fact could not be ascertained, his information was correct. Of this I think there may be some doubt; but I must, upon the whole, bear a very favourable testimony to M'Cormick's behaviour here.

As M'Cormick declined to sign his former Declaration, I requested him to send over the copy which I now enclose, and to say if it was correct. He made the remark which is mentioned in my certificate subjoined to the Declaration, which, with that annexed to his second Declaration, was written in his presence.

I take the liberty to add Ensign Jones's narrative. He has been active in the business, and says he feels great zeal for the service: he has, however, perhaps another motive, as he showed me the copy of an advertisement, by which a reward is offered for John Cormick's apprehension. To that no individual has any claim, as, without the free confession made by that unfortunate man, he would have been set at liberty, in compliance with his Grace the Duke of Portland's command.

I am, &c.,

H. W. Dalrymple, M. G.

Declaration of John Cormick, taken at Guernsey, July 10th, 1798.

John Cormick declares, that about fifteen months ago he was sworn in as a United Irishman, by Christopher Clarke, a brewer, in Smithfield, Dublin, to which act he was induced by apprehension for his personal safety, being told that those who did not take the above oath would not be safe; that, during the first twelve months of the above period, he remained perfectly passive; that, at their expiration, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was brought to his house by a man of the name of William Lawless,[1] in order to be concealed; since which time, influenced by his Lordship, he had taken a more active part in the Rebellion, by attending seditious meetings; that, during his intercourse with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, his Lordship showed him two letters, the signature of both of which was concealed, one of which stated that the number of disaffected in London

[1] A surgeon, who lived in French Street, Dublin.—*Note on original Paper.*

amounted to seventeen thousand, who would rise on a common emergency, but that there were at least one hundred thousand who would rise in case of actual invasion. The other was conceived in these terms: "I have just received a letter from L.,[1] who had made application to the trustees for the advance of five thousand pounds upon your estates, which they refused, saying that they would make no payment short of the entire, and that they would not be able to effect that for four months."[2] That Lord Edward Fitzgerald remained concealed in his house for near a month; that, shortly after Lord Edward quitted his house, he was obliged himself to abscond, a party of the military being sent to take possession of it, upon information being received that Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been harboured there; that he remained in Dublin nearly a week after; when, in the beginning of the month of June, he made his escape to England, under the disguise of a sailor, in a small boat bound to a port near Park Gate, (called, as he believed, Neston) from which place he proceeded to London by Liverpool; that, during the time he was in England, he assumed the name of Campbell; that he remained in London nearly a fortnight, solely with a view to avoid detection; but, meeting some Irish people, who seemed to recognise him, he thought it prudent to go elsewhere, when he determined to come to Guernsey, as being a place where he was likely to pass unobserved; that, when he was in London, he lodged in the house of a Mrs. Monro, in Swan Street, near the Minories, and that the only person whom he visited was a Mr. Morgan, a merchant, residing at the Crescent, near the Tower, uncle of the Declarant's wife; and that he, Mr. Morgan, recommended to

[1] L. is the initial of the name of the Irish agent in Paris, being Lewings.—*Note on original Paper.*

[2] This letter was dated some time in May; and, though he seemed to understand it literally, he appeared to collect from it that the French intended to invade Ireland in four months from the date of it.—*Note on original Paper.*

him the house of Mrs. Monro; that, when he left London, to come to Guernsey, he took the name of Coppinger, both because it had the same initial with his own name, and because it was already upon a portmanteau given to him by his brother-in-law,[1] who at present resides at Mr. Morgan's. The Declarant adds, that a deputation from the United British in London arrived in Dublin last March, but that he is totally unacquainted with their names and intentions; that he is not acquainted with any individual whatever in this Island, either inhabitant or stranger, and that he came here merely with the hopes of being unnoticed; that it would be ungenerous in him to reveal the name of the person who concealed him in Dublin after he had absconded from his own house, as that would only criminate an individual, and could not lead to any discovery by which Government would be benefitted. He further says that he sincerely repents, and feels deep remorse for the part which he has taken, not only because he is conscious that he is liable to be brought to punishment, but because he is thoroughly convinced of his error, and that he is willing to prove the sincerity of his repentance by assisting to make any discoveries which may tend to the public good, and which he thinks he will be able to effect by carrying on a correspondence with Lewings, the agent for the United Irish in Paris, with whom he has been intimately acquainted till within these two years, and who will, he thinks, write confidentially to him, knowing well his political principles, and, by pretending still to adhere to their cause, by discovering the plots of the United Irish and British, whom he, by his former connections, may find to be in London or elsewhere.

The above Declaration having been read to M'Cormick in my presence, he acknowledged it to be correctly the substance of what he pronounced in the presence of Colonel Anstruther, Sir Thomas Saumarez, and Captain Leighton, excepting that

[1] Foley.—*Note on original Paper.*

he does not think that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was in all (but at different times) above a fortnight or three weeks in his house.

H. W. Dalrymple,
M. G., Lieutenant-Governor.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Private. Dublin Castle, July 30, 1798.

Sir—I am very happy to find that the determination of the Lord-Lieutenant, as to the Bill of Pardon, has been such as will relieve the Duke of Portland from all anxiety on this subject. Upon a communication with the Chancellor, the time to be gained by presenting the act, transmitted under the King's signature, having reference to a Bill of Exceptions afterwards to be submitted to Parliament, did not appear to his Excellency, in any degree, to counterbalance the inconvenience of opening so delicate a subject to general discussion. It has, therefore, been decided by his Excellency to submit the exceptions which appear expedient to those who have a local knowledge of the treason to the King's ministers in England, and to await a perfect Bill being transmitted under the King's signature, before any further steps are taken in this Parliament. The measure will then be according to the most approved precedents; and, as Parliament will only have a simple affirmative or negative, much of the warmth inseparable from a detailed discussion will be avoided.

The Lord-Lieutenant writes himself to the Duke of Portland upon the general subject. As his Excellency is much occupied, and his Grace may wish to be acquainted with the reasons upon which the exceptions have been selected, I shall trouble you with a few observations on this part of the subject.

It is the wish of the Lord-Lieutenant that the measure should have all the grace possible, and that the principle of pardon should be pushed as far as may be at all compatible

with the public safety. At the same time, his Excellency feels it necessary to advert to the peculiarity of this act of grace being granted *pending the Rebellion*. In every other instance, the Bill of Pardon has followed the struggle; and the principal object in view has been the quieting of the minds of those who had been engaged in the treason. In the present case, the Rebellion, though crushed in a military sense, is yet in organized force; and, in many parts of the kingdom, disturbances still exist, and the people retain their arms with an obstinacy that indicates the cause is not yet abandoned. Under this impression, his Excellency is of opinion that the pardon must be granted upon a principle of precaution, as well as of clemency; and that, although it might be highly dangerous, by the terror of severe punishment, to drive numerous classes of men, however deeply implicated in the treason, to despair, yet that it is still necessary for the safety of the State to keep the Leaders under the restraint of the law, holding out to them such a principle of compromise as shall not drive them to take up arms, as the only means of preserving their lives; but shall leave Government at liberty to look to its own safety.

The first exception proposed is that of prisoners in custody, previously to the Lord-Lieutenant's message. Prisoners since committed not to suffer from the delay which has unavoidably occurred in carrying his Majesty's gracious intentions into execution.

Persons guilty of murder or conspiracy to murder. The troops to be excepted, and left subject to the Mutiny Act.

The yeomanry, not being subject to Martial Law, it is proposed to except out of the pardon such as have deserted their corps and joined the Rebels; also those who have administered illegal oaths since they became yeomen—this description of yeomen being the active seducers of their own body, and, in many instances, having entered into the service expressly for the purpose.

Persons having had direct communication or correspondence with the enemy.

In the civic organization, it is proposed to except the members of the Executive, Provincial, and County Committees, as in these situations the persons most dangerous to the State have been employed. The County Delegates, being pretty numerous, were the exception, in all cases, to be followed by punishment, it would certainly operate far too extensively; but, as its operation will only be to bring their claims to favour under consideration upon their individual cases, and as much danger might arise from discharging, without any conditions whatever, a class of men, many of whom are still active Rebels, it is thought most advisable that they should stand excepted, the rather as it is proposed, by a general clause, to pardon all persons, even of the excepted cases, (save those who have been guilty of deliberate murder, or been in direct correspondence with the enemy), who shall surrender within such time as the Lord-Lieutenant in Council may prescribe, upon condition of banishment for such time as may be enjoined, with reference to their degrees of criminality, or upon giving such security for their future good behaviour as may be demanded. It is thought that this will so soften the rigour of the exceptions, that it will in itself be considered as an act of grace even to the most guilty; and the State will be equally secured by their removal as by their punishment.

Upon the same principle, in the military organization, the exceptions are made to extend to captains. It has appeared to his Excellency the more necessary to have this reserve in giving an unqualified pardon to captains and county delegates —the only two classes upon which much doubt has been entertained; as, in many counties, where the organization of the treason was only in progress, the elections have not proceeded beyond these degrees; and the individuals who would shortly have been raised to the rank of generals and Executive Committee are to be found in the humble class of County

Delegates and captains, a description of persons too formidable to be dismissed harmless, without being brought under some regulation, either of security or temporary banishment. My Lord-Lieutenant will always have it in his power, either altogether to pardon or merely to require security, when the nature of the case will enable his Excellency to dismiss the individual with safety to the State upon these mild conditions.

The above, with the persons to be excepted by name, comprehend all the limitations which have occurred to his Excellency as necessary to be connected with the Act of General Pardon.

The Lord-Lieutenant has fully explained to the Duke of Portland that it never was in his Excellency's contemplation, in any degree, to compromise the King's prerogative, by submitting the Bill with blanks for Parliament to fill up. His Excellency always looked to its being presented entire as his Majesty's Act. The objections stated by the Crown Lawyers in England to the King's signature being obtained to an imperfect instrument are too strong not to be convincing; and, as the Lord-Lieutenant could not have been earlier prepared to offer the exceptions to his Majesty's consideration and that of his Ministers; in fact, no time has been lost that could have been saved, and the mercy being referred back, as far as the prisoners are concerned, who are the only class that could have suffered, to the date of the message, the Royal clemency will in no degree be impeached or lessened by the delay in carrying the measure into execution.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Private. Dublin Castle, July 30, 1798.

Sir—I have been honoured with your letter of the 25th, marked private, relative to Dr. McNevin's Memorial. In

going over it with Mr. Cooke, I doubt not I shall be able to render it sufficiently correct; indeed, I am not without hopes that, in the course of this day, we shall receive the best possible assistance for this purpose — Dr. McNevin himself being now employed in preparing a statement of his foreign communications for the information of Government. It may reasonably be hoped that the report of the Committee of Secrecy may contain every circumstance at all material for the public information, without in the least compromising the secret intelligence, which it is so great an object to use as sparingly as possible.

The Lord-Lieutenant will have explained to the Duke of Portland that, with a view of giving the Secret Committees a general impression of the extent to which the traitors of this country had been in communication with the enemy, his Excellency authorized me to read the correspondence and memorial once over to the Committee of the Commons, with a strict injunction that no person should note a single fact; and I can truly state that the individuals on that committee are altogether in the dark as to the manner in which that intelligence was obtained, and, from the mode in which it was gone through, can only have a very general impression of its contents. The same precaution was used in the Lords; and, I trust, although the Duke of Portland's Despatch to his Excellency does not altogether sanction what has been done, yet that his Grace and the Ministers, who have so wisely enjoined the greatest precaution to be observed in the use to be made of that most interesting and important correspondence, will be of opinion that the guarded manner in which the Lord-Lieutenant made the communication to the committees, not authorizing the smallest extracts to be made, or any of the facts to be relied on in their Report, without being fully authorized by his Excellency, will preclude any danger to the State from this valuable channel of intelligence being in any degree brought into suspicion.

The few lines I had the honour of addressing to you by

Saturday's mail will have, in some measure, explained the communication we are about to receive from Dr. McNevin and the other State prisoners. I acceded to the interview requested by Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Emmet, and the Doctor; and the Chancellor was kind enough to be present. They expressed an anxious desire to save Mr. Bond's life, as also to rescue the country from a Rebellion, which it was evident must be destructive to all parties. They admitted that they had *intended every thing we knew they did*, but most positively denied that they were ever prepared to accept of French assistance to an extent which might enable them to interfere as conquerors instead of allies. They were now convinced that France would not afford the partial assistance they required; and that, coming in force, the patriots of Ireland would find it as difficult to get rid of them as of their present opponents. They were ready to give the fullest information on every part of the treason, foreign and domestic, declining to mention names, so as to implicate individuals. All the State prisoners, in the gaols of this city, have signed their acquiescence in a full disclosure and banishment from this country for life. They are ready to appear before the Secret Committees, and to be examined—such is their offer, the importance of which, if sincerely acted upon, appears to the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chancellor such as warrants a farther respite of Mr. Bond's execution, and ultimately a pardon on the same conditions as the other prisoners solicit.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 3rd, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, the enclosed copy of some intelligence that has been received here from the coast of France.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

W. Wickham.

Substance of Communications from the Continent, since my last Despatch of the 23rd inst., to Mr. Huskisson.

Brest, July 21. The Fraternité and Bellone, alluded to in that Despatch, effectually sailed on the 10th, but returned, after a lively pursuit by our cruizers, on the 12th: a line-of-battle ship and four frigates have been added to strengthen this division; and a second division ordered to be prepared, consisting of four line-of-battle ships, Le Montblanc, La Revolution, Le Watigny, and Le Fougueux, all four of 74 guns, have been this day completed to forty-five days of sea-provisions, and have embarked some flying artillery, avowedly destined for Ireland, where it is reported the insurgents are still in force. Different detachments, to the amount of some thousand light troops, have arrived in the neighbourhood of Brest for several days past, with whom there is an intention to make an effort in favour of the Rebels of Ireland, if the great penury of stores and provisions, and the vigilance of the English cruisers, admit of it.

St. Brieux, July 22. The present head-quarters of the detachments of the armée d'Angleterre are at St. Brieux, where several houses are prepared for the reception of the general officers. General Kilmaine and his staff passed through this town a few days ago, and all the troops in the neighbourhood are in motion. A diversion to cover an effort from Brest, in favour of the Rebels in Ireland, is projected upon the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, for which purpose a camp of three thousand men has been traced near this town, and a division of the same force ordered to assemble at St. Malo, the point of departure, where the gun-vessels and boats are ordered to assemble as soon as those at Granville can be launched. The contre-admiral, La Crosse, directs the naval operations, and to the divisionary general, Rossignol, is committed the execution of the attack upon Jersey, while the general de division, Vendome, effects with the flotilla of Cherbourg a diversion upon Guernsey.

Brest, July 22. The line-of-battle ship and six frigates, destined for Ireland, are still in the road; the violent westerly winds have prevented their sailing. They have between three and four thousand troops *d'élite* on board, "*propres à faire des bas officiers.*" The number of ships and state of them, excepting the above movement, continue in the road and harbour, as by the last report.

St. Brieux, July 24. The troops continue in movement, and it is reported that orders are arrived to retrograde towards the interior. The impossibility of furnishing more assistance to Ireland than what is embarked in the line-of-battle ship and six frigates, that amount to 3,800 land forces, with the stores and the anxieties towards the Rhine, have occasioned this movement. Several of the general officers, lately arrived, went off for Rennes this morning, on their way to Paris.

St. Malo, July 24. General Kilmaine and contre-admiral La Crosse have made every disposition for an embarkation destined against Jersey.

It is stated that the privateers are all to be detained, and employed as corvettes, for which purpose they have been surveyed.

D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon.

Jersey, July 30, 1798.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, August 5, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by the Duke of Portland's direction, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from an officer (a prisoner of war) at Orleans, giving a very satisfactory account of the sentiments and principles of the Irish prisoners confined there. Your Lordship will, no doubt, have observed an article that has appeared in some of the public papers, that these brave fellows have since made an open and unequivocal declaration of their loyalty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Wm. Wickham.

Prison, Orleans, July 12, 1798.

Dear Sir—I enclose two letters for Mr. ————. I trust news of the former's arrival at Jamaica has reached you ere this. I hoped by this time to have been near the coast, on my route to be exchanged; but a most extraordinary manœuvre of separating the English from the Irish prisoners still detains me here, for what purpose God and the Directory only know. This, however, I am not without suspicion of, that some dark plan is in agitation; perhaps an attempt to corrupt the Irish prisoners. I am, &c.,

TREVOR HALL.

July 13. As there is a probability this letter may go safe, I send you an extract of a letter from Captain Tyrrell, 14th Dragoons, to Captain Cotes, which, if you think proper, communicate to the Transport Board.

Prison, Orleans, July 10, 1798.

A most extraordinary communication has just been made to us by some soldiers (whose veracity we have no reason to doubt), and which we shall give you as nearly as possible in their words.

"That Mr. Boullard, the Commissary of the Executive Power, acquainted them last night, on their remonstrating to him on the hardship of being separated from their fellow-prisoners, and not marched, as well as the others, to the coast for exchange, that it was all for their good; that their situation would be better; that, after the march of the English on Thursday, they were to be struck off the list as British prisoners, and victualled by France for the Irish Republic; that eight or ten days hence they were to be marched to Nantes, and there embarked with a strong reinforcement for Ireland."

There are about 130 Irish prisoners here; and a more loyal, determined set of poor fellows, I have seldom met with.[1]

[1] On reference to the Memorial delivered in July, 1797, to the French minister at Hamburg, to be forwarded to Paris (introduced hereafter in

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. Whitehall, August 9, 1798.

My Lord—I have received the honour of your Lordship's several letters of the 28th and 30th ult., all of which I have communicated to the Duke of Portland, together with the draft of the Bill for his Majesty's most gracious pardon, transmitted to me by Mr. Cooke. His Grace will have the honour of writing himself to my Lord-Lieutenant on the subject of the persons in custody for high treason at Dublin, to whom some of your Lordship's letters relate.

In the mean time, I have his Grace's commands to communicate to you, for his Excellency's information, some observations that have been made by the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney and Solicitor-General (with whom the Duke of Portland entirely concurs) on the exceptions in the Bill as they stand in the draft transmitted here, which make it absolutely necessary, before his Majesty can be advised to sign the Bill, that further information should be received from Ireland, and particularly that a more accurate description should be given of some of the persons who are to be individually excepted from the benefit of his Majesty's pardon.

Your Lordship is aware that the Christian names of many of these persons, and the places of abode and profession of others, are left to be filled up here. To enable the Duke of Portland to do this, Mr. Cooke had referred me to a man, who, I have no doubt, is well able to give the greater part, if not the whole, of the information necessary for that purpose; but, unfortunately, he is now, and has been for some time, at Paris; and all my endeavours to find a person capable of supplying his place have been hitherto without effect. Under these

connexion with Mr. Wickham's letter of August 16th) it will be seen that the different treatment of the English and Irish seamen, prisoners of war, was suggested and recommended to the Directory by the writer and his colleagues of the Executive Committee of the United Irishmen.

circumstances, the Attorney and Solicitor-General are clearly of opinion, with the Lord Chancellor, that all the reasons which prevented his Majesty's ministers from advising the King to send over a Bill, leaving the clauses of exception in blank, apply equally in principle, though not so far in extent, to sending over in blank any part of the description of the persons who are to be excepted; consequently, that the names of such persons must be altogether omitted in the exceptions, or that the Bill must not be offered to the King for his Majesty's signature until all the blanks can be filled up. The Duke of Portland, sensible of the great delay and consequent inconvenience that must arise from sending over to Ireland for further information, would willingly omit the names of these persons in the exceptions altogether; but, perceiving several amongst them who have been most active in the Rebellion from the beginning, and whose punishment is necessary to the future peace and safety of the country, and not doubting that the names of those who are less known to him have been inserted by his Excellency for similar reasons, his Grace considers the evil that will arise from this delay as of small importance, when compared with that which must result from suffering his Majesty's full pardon to be extended to persons notoriously guilty of offences of such magnitude.

Among the persons excepted, there is one, upon whose case his Majesty's law officers have made particular observations—I mean, Mr. Stewart, of Acton. From the secret information in the Duke of Portland's possession, independent of that which has been transmitted from Ireland, his Grace can have no doubt that this gentleman is a very proper person to be excepted from his Majesty's pardon. But a difficulty has arisen from the circumstance of his being now at large in this country. Your Lordship will remember that Mr. Stewart, with several other persons resident here, known to be connected with the Rebels, were taken into custody on the breaking out of the Rebellion in Ireland. They were all afterwards discharged

upon bail, as the Rebellion assumed a less alarming appearance, and as the probability of the peace of this country being disturbed by the United Irishmen became less.

It is therefore contended, that it would have a very strange appearance, were his Majesty's ministers *here* to advise the King to except from the benefit of a general pardon a person who is now at large, not even proceeded against, and who was not thought by them sufficiently dangerous to be detained in custody, even at the time when the Rebellion was not yet suppressed, however its force might have been diminished; and the Duke of Portland (agreeing entirely in that point with the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney and Solicitor-General) is decidedly of opinion that the inserting his name among the exceptions should be preceded by an order to take him again into custody, for the purpose of sending him over to Ireland; which, under all the circumstances of the case, can only now be done on a direct application from the Lord-Lieutenant, founded on the particular knowledge his Excellency has of the part that Mr. Stewart has taken in the Rebellion, and of the evidence by which his guilt may be proved.

The Duke of Portland desires me to observe, on this occasion, that Mr. Lawless and Mr. Bonham appear to stand nearly in the same situation with Mr. Stewart, as far, that is, as their respective cases are known to this Government, and as far as they are affected by the circumstance of their having been taken into custody here on a charge of treason and afterwards admitted to bail; and his Grace is of opinion that the decision with respect to each of these three persons ought to be governed by the same rule. They have all been the active agents of the United Irishmen in this country, and, as such, are extremely proper objects of punishment. But, unless they or some one or more of them have committed some overt act *in Ireland*, which may be proved by such evidence as is required by the regular course of law, or at least by attainder in Parliament, it is thought that it would be too much to except

them, or any of them, from an act of pardon; nor, indeed, would it answer the end required; as, conscious of the want of evidence against them, they would probably come forward themselves, and demand a trial; and, in every case, the inserting the name of any of them in the exceptions of the Bill must be preceded by their being taken into custody, and sent over to Ireland to be tried. The two Binnses stand in somewhat similar circumstances. They have been most active agents of the United Irishmen in this country, and have contributed their utmost to propagate the principles of those misguided people and to extend their connexions here; and, from their superior talents and means of doing mischief, they are considered by the Duke of Portland very fit persons to be excepted from the benefit of his Majesty's pardon, and very proper subjects for a Parliamentary proceeding, should his Excellency be in possession of evidence sufficient to support such a measure, without having enough to bring them to a regular trial in a court of law: but his Grace is not aware that there is any evidence at all against them, *that can be produced* in either way; and, however dangerous they may be, and however important it may be to the tranquillity of both countries, that these men should be deprived of the power of doing mischief, yet it is still more important that, in a Bill of this kind, there should be nothing done that should look like a wish to go out of the right road to prosecute an individual. It is to be observed that, Benjamin Binns being in actual custody, the objection made in the case of Messrs. Bonham, Lawless, and Stewart, will not hold good with respect to him.

His Grace also particularly desires that you would remind his Excellency of the case of M'Guckey and Dowdall, who are in custody at Liverpool. They were detained in this country, instead of being sent over to Ireland, at the particular request of the late Lord-Lieutenant; but, the circumstance which made their detention here so desirable existing no longer, his Grace wishes that a decision may be taken respecting them

as soon as possible. Whether they be prosecuted, bailed, or discharged, or whatever be done with respect to them, it seems most desirable that it should be done in Ireland.

It is thought necessary that the engrossed Bill of Pardon, signed by his Majesty, and already transmitted to Ireland, should be returned here, to the intent that it may be cancelled by the King in Council, and a memorandum entered in the council books of the whole proceeding; and the Duke of Portland will thank his Excellency to give directions to that effect immediately.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 4th inst., and have communicated it to the Duke of Portland. His Grace will have the point you mention reconsidered; but the law officers have, as well as the Chancellor, seemed clearly of opinion that it would be wiser and the safer mode, that all illegal acts done in suppressing the rebellion should be pardoned by the King, than that the persons who have committed them should be indemnified by Act of Parliament.

No acts, but such as are illegal, have need of either pardon or indemnity; and, in either case, the illegality must be admitted. It seems difficult, therefore, to say that there is more of disgrace in recurring to one mode of protection rather than the other; and a Bill of Indemnity is liable to this obvious objection, that it would open a way to much unpleasant debate and discussion in Parliament, which it has been hitherto a principle to avoid. The Lord Chancellor is of opinion, that that part of the last clause must be omitted, which attaints all such of the excepted persons as, having been pardoned on condition, shall afterwards violate any of the conditions of their pardon; and that it will be necessary to have a separate Act for that purpose, on the principle that it would be contrary to the very nature of an act of grace, were it to create any new crime, or apply any new or additional punishment to an old one.

But, whichever mode be followed, it is thought necessary that a clause should be added, making it felony in any of the

King's subjects to correspond with such of the pardoned traitors as shall be banished or transported, as was done in Atterbury's case, and that a Bill to the same effect should be presented to Parliament here immediately on its meeting.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 10, 1798.

My Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed an extract of a letter containing some curious information relative to the two Shearses. It is written by one of their old companions, the famous Mr. Henry Yorke. It is wished, however, that the name of the writer should be concealed. I send your Lordship, at the same time, by the Duke of Portland's direction, the prospectus of a new journal that is about to be published by Mallet du Pan,[1] which his Grace will thank your Lordship to communicate to the Lord-Lieutenant, and inform his Excellency that, from the known talents of the author, and his intimate knowledge of the Revolution, and its present instruments in Europe, great hope is entertained that the circulation of this work may materially contribute to expose to the eyes of the public the real views of the French Government, and the principles of its founders and leaders. It is no doubt on the Continent that it will be found more particularly useful, and I am happy to find that it has already more than three hundred subscribers there,—above two hundred of them in countries where the author himself could not have been per-

[1] The title of the journal here mentioned was *Mercure Britannique*. Its founder, a native of Geneva, was one of the ablest adversaries of the principles brought into vogue by the French Revolution, in the early part of which he furnished the political portion of the *Mercure de France*, which supported the cause of royalty. On the 10th of August, 1792, his house was stormed by the populace of Paris, when he fled to Switzerland, and afterwards settled in London, where he died in May, 1800.

mitted to reside. But it cannot fail of doing much good in this country, also, and particularly so, I should conceive, in Ireland, as the attention of the author will be specially directed to the means by which the French have disseminated their principles, and created factions and parties in other countries, as well as to the manner in which those countries, and the partisans of the French principles, in common with other inhabitants, have been treated after their established governments have been subverted.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter, dated August 3, 1798.

I was well acquainted in Paris with the two Messrs. Sheares, who lately suffered in Ireland. The fate of the younger did not surprise me, but I was astonished to learn that the elder was also implicated, for he was apparently a man of most meek and exemplary manners, the father of an infant, and a widower, ties sufficiently strong, methinks, to have curbed his ambition. He was, however, entirely under the influence of his brother, and, though he said little, he was quite (as the French say), when he did speak, *à la hauteur de la Revolution.* The younger was the *boutefeu* of all *the exiled patriots* there. He was the man who proposed an address to the Convention for carrying arms against this country. If you look into the preface of my trial, you will see the account, though, while he lived, I never mentioned his name. I have heard it remarked, and I have found the remark just, that no subject of the British Crown, who entered into the views of the French, returned from France without importing with him much of the ferocity of the French character, and much of the bombast of their style. This has been fully illustrated by the manifesto that was found upon the younger.[1] Laying aside his

[1] The paper in question, in the handwriting of John Sheares, was not found upon him, but in the house of his brother, with whom he lived.

politics, he was a very accomplished young man. I went with both of them to Versailles, and we visited the Little Trianon, which the Queen of France had constructed. The younger Sheares was so enchanted with the taste of a person who could conceive so beautiful a retreat, that he fell on his knees, and swore he would plunge a dagger in the heart of every Frenchman he met, if a hair of her head were touched. I have sent you this little anecdote of those unfortunate gentlemen, whom I presume you did not know. I will not conceal that I felt deeply afflicted at their fate, and I sincerely wish that the impression may not be lost in any part of our country. The example is awful. May it serve to guard the monarchy, and enlighten the deluded!

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, August 11, 1798.

My Lord—I have received the honour of your Lordship's private letter of the 7th inst., with the very curious *Mémoire* of the State Prisoners enclosed. The Duke of Portland is at Bulstrode, where I shall immediately send your Lordship's letter, together with the Lord-Lieutenant's despatches. The whole will, I am persuaded, give infinite satisfaction to his Grace, as the language holden by the State Prisoners in their *Mémoire*, as it was represented in your Lordship's letter to me of the 4th inst., had caused very unpleasant sensations here, and given room to fear that these persons were neither corrected in their principles nor sincere in their disclosures.

It would be a great satisfaction to me personally, were O'Connor to be questioned on the object of his journey to Switzerland with Lord Edward Fitzgerald in the year 1796, and whether they or either of them were in France at that time, and what French agents they saw besides Mr. Barthelemy. I was absent with the Austrian army at the time of their arrival, so that I lost the opportunity of observing

their motions. If either of them went into France, which I am persuaded they did, I should be curious, for my particular reasons, to know whether they went in by way of Basle, and whether their passports were given them in their own names. Should there be no impropriety in questioning O'Connor on these points, as I have said before, it would be a great satisfaction to me that it should be done; and, though I am not at present authorized to use the Duke of Portland's name, and therefore cannot ask your Lordship to submit this point to the Lord-Lieutenant, yet I am persuaded that his Grace will entirely approve of my having made this application to your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, August 12, 1798.

Sir—I have received the honour of your letter, of the 9th, which has been communicated to my Lord-Lieutenant. His Excellency regrets that he has not been enabled to transmit as accurate a designation as he could have wished of several of the persons proposed to be excepted out of the Bill of Pardon; as they have all been actively engaged in the treason, and, it is to be presumed, have belonged to some of the superior Committees, they will, in all probability, stand excepted officially, if not by name. His Excellency requests that the measure may receive no additional delay from this consideration, being of opinion that no material inconvenience is likely to arise from the omission of those persons whose description is defective.

After a full consideration of Mr. S.'s case, his Excellency is of opinion that the evidence against him in this country will not warrant his being transmitted to Ireland; consequently, that it is most eligible, under all the circumstances, that his name should be omitted. Mr. L. and Mr. B. stand, as you observe, in the same predicament, in point of crimi-

nality; and, I am sorry to say, we are equally destitute of evidence to prove their guilt. The same observation applies to the two Binnses.

I do not find there is any evidence of weight against D.; against M'G. there is: and I have to request you will move the Duke of Portland to have him transmitted to Ireland.

The Lord Chancellor is of opinion that a Bill of Indemnity will still be requisite to protect individuals against personal actions. The Act of Pardon will secure them against criminal prosecution, but not against a private suit to recover damages.

The clause inflicting the penalty of an attaint on persons violating the conditions of their pardon is altogether unnecessary, as a Bill is now before Parliament making it felony, without benefit of clergy, which the Chancellor did not advert to when he prepared the Bill.

The Lord-Lieutenant has not yet considered so as to form a decided opinion upon the clause suggested, by which it will be made a felony in any of the King's subjects to correspond with such of the pardoned traitors as shall be banished or transported; but he is rather of opinion that it would be complained of as severe and unexpected, not being mentioned to the persons in confinement, with whom Government has treated, at the time the terms were prescribed, as a condition intended to be annexed to their banishment. It appears an important object of policy to his Excellency, to get rid, by their own consent, of a number of active traitors throughout the country. This is more to be effected by their own fears than by any evidence in our possession: to attach to the perpetual or temporary banishment of so very numerous a class of persons the additional privation of never communicating by letter with their friends here, it is considered, would deter many whom we could not otherwise remove, from soliciting their pardon on condition of banishment.

Mr. Cooke has communicated to me a letter received from you, and I have requested the Chancellor to explain the first exception upon which doubts have been entertained in England.

The Chancellor proposes it should run thus:—"All persons being in actual custody on the 1st day of January, 1795, or who have been in such custody at any time since under any charge of treason, or suspicion of treason, or of treasonable practices," (by which, I conceive, it is proposed to except all prisoners now actually in custody for the above offences, or have been enlarged on bail since the 1st day of January, 1795), "on condition of abiding their trial when called on."

The clause which you state to have been corrected in England, his lordship fears, from inaccuracy of expression, may not have been understood according to his conception. It will not, in any degree, preclude the King from granting his pardon to each and every of the persons with whom Government has treated. No part of the Bill, in fact, being a restriction upon the prerogative of pardon, it will only preclude persons guilty of direct correspondence with the enemy, with whom no conditions have been made, from claiming their pardon as of right, upon condition of banishment. The King's power of pardon is in no degree limited by the exceptions; it is over this class that his authority is retained; over all others it is parted with. The only difference it makes is, that each of the persons who have been guilty of correspondence with the enemy, and to whom the Crown is under engagement, must receive a special pardon, which the Lord-Lieutenant, by an instrument lately transmitted, is authorized to grant, so that no inconvenience can arise.

Much inconvenience to the State might result, if any leading traitors, who have been the channels of correspondence with France, were enabled to claim their pardon without the consent of the Crown.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, August 18, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the informa-

tion of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a secret note received from Paris by a very circuitous route.

It is not in my power to give your Lordship the exact date of this note, but I should presume that it was written about five, or perhaps only four weeks since. Part of its contents has been confirmed by the arrival of Mr. D. under a feigned name, in the electorate of Hanover, on his road to Hamburg, and I have little doubt of the truth of the rest, from my intimate knowledge of the writer.

D., by the extreme vigilance and activity of Sir James Craufurd, has been discovered and arrested on his road; but, as he has been acknowledged as a person attached to the French mission at Hamburg, and claimed as such, I fear there are no hopes whatever of his being delivered up, or even of having his papers examined.

Your Lordship, who will be aware of the extreme delicacy of this business, will no doubt feel the necessity of keeping the whole of it as secret as possible. In the mean time, it is a point of no slight importance that this man should have been discovered on his road, and his journey so much delayed as that the object of it will be, in all probability, defeated.

There seems little or no doubt that the French were preparing, about a fortnight or three weeks since, several diversions on the coast of Ireland, in the hope that, at least, some arms and some officers might have been landed. Whether this project be now entirely abandoned, is more than I can pretend to say. It is certain that they are marching large bodies of men from Britanny, as well as from Flanders, towards the Rhine, and the appointment of General Kilmaine to command a part of their Grand Army is a convincing proof that they have abandoned the intention of doing anything on a very large scale in the present moment.

I observe that, in the paper given in by the State prisoners, they have concealed the names of the French and other foreign agents with whom they have had communication; and I ven-

ture to mention to your Lordship that the Duke of Portland was thoroughly persuaded that, under the terms granted them by his Excellency, they were to conceal no names but those of his Majesty's subjects who had been engaged with them in the Rebellion. It seems of particular importance that they should be induced to mention some one or more of these foreign agents by name, as nothing would so effectually tend to injure these people and their cause with the French, and to make it impossible for them to apply again to the Directory or its Ministers for assistance.

I observe also that they have passed very lightly over their connections with the Spanish Government, and yet we have undoubted proof that a direct communication had taken place with some Minister of that country at the time that M'N. was at Hamburg. The Duke of Portland particularly wishes that some of them should be closely questioned as to this point, and the mode now adopted of examining them separately seems to be particularly favourable for drawing the real secret from them. They certainly had audiences of the Spanish chargé d'affaires at Hamburg, and, I believe, also of Mr. D. C. at Paris. I have always had strong suspicions that Dr. H. has sent returns of the state and temper of the Catholics in Ireland to the Spanish Government. From some passages also, in *the secret correspondence*, it should seem as if Mr. L. C. has communicated with some of the Delegates of the United Irishmen here in England.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Directory is making great exertions, and at great expense, to revive the Rebellion in Ireland. All the reduced officers are sought for, to be employed.

A small fleet was shortly to have sailed from Granville, with a cargo of this description, who have at their disposal a quantity of ammunition, and a considerable sum of money.

An Irishman, of the name of D., is charged with a mission to Ireland; he is described as being about the age of thirty; five feet three or four inches, French measure; with brown hair, and very small blue eyes.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 15, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a secret report received from the coasts of France, also the extract of a letter from a gentleman who lately left Altona, relating to the arms that are supposed to be shipping there for the service of the Rebels in Ireland.

A letter was received yesterday by Mr. Hammond from Mr. Elliot at Dresden, dated the 27th ult., which stated that a merchant of that place had received a letter from Venice, giving an account of the total defeat of Buonaparte. Mr. Elliot observes upon this intelligence, which he received at the moment of the departure of the post, that he was not able to give the date of the letter, nor any particulars that it contained, as the merchant who had received it had set out with it immediately to communicate it to the prime minister, who was at Pilnitz, but that very early intelligence from Italy had frequently been received through the same channel. There was not another word of intelligence by the German mail, in any way relating to the fleets in the Mediterannean.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Secret Information.

Brest, August 3, 1798. The Vaisseau le Hoche, of 74 guns, commanded by Citoyen Alaris, a *ci-devant* noble, destined, with the following frigates, to throw a *secours* to the Insurgents in Ireland, is still on the road, not having the possibility

to hazard out while the English fleet is so vigilant. Eleven sail are this instant signalized from Ushant.

The Hoche, of 74 guns, the Fraternité, the Resolu, the Ambuscade, the Loire, and the Immortalité, each of 40 guns, are lying, with their foretop-sails loose.

The four line-of-battle ships ordered for a second division, noticed in my last despatch, have had their crews completed from the ships in the harbour. They have not yet embarked any supernumerary stores; but forty waggons, with cases of arms and other utensils of war, arrived yesterday, besides four millions of livres in coin, all destined for Ireland, the unique end of the views of this port. The three-deck ships of the line are disarming in favour of the rest, there being no prospect of arming a sufficient force to offer battle at sea to the English.

Brest, August 3, 1798. The general-en-chef of the army of England arrived here the 27th of July. The 28th, he visited the Arsenals; the 29th, all the generals went in great state in the road, and visited the fleet, always of 16 line-of-battle ships, including the Hoche, under sailing orders. The 30th, the light troops destined for embarkation were drawn out on the champ de bataille, and reviewed by the general, who afterwards set out for Paris.

A multitude of couriers go and come, so that it is hardly known in the *bureaux* what is to be done. The greatest desire to succour, and the greatest incertitude appears to prevail respecting Ireland.

Côtes du Nord, August 7. M. M. La Bressière and de Behague (with an officer that I furnished them as a guide) who were sent by M. de Behague to reconnoitre the state of the provinces of Britanny and Maine, have met with such obstacles that, M. de la Bressière excepted (and that for a short excursion only), their observations have been hitherto limited to such as they could make from the cottage that receives the correspondence, on an obscure and secret part of the coast. They announce their return next week.

St. Maloes, August 8. There are 40 gun and flat vessels that have been prepared for invasion at St. Maloes, in the port of Solidor. They are lashed together in three tiers, completely equipped. I have committed the execution of a project upon them to a confidential person, who is brave and intelligent (from which I hope the most complete success, unless the most insurmountable barriers oppose it), which may remit their measures against us for some time. The vessels fitted at Granville make a part of this *rassemblement*. A convoy, that had been waiting a favourable opportunity to convey naval stores to Brest, got out of St. Maloes Tuesday morning, consisting of 22 sail, of which 4 were armed. It was very gallantly attacked by Captain May, of his Majesty's sloop Seagull. Though of very inferior force, he forced them for shelter within the rocks of St. Quay, where he continues to blockade them with his sloop and three gun-vessels, sent from here to assist him.

N.B. The commander of the cruizing frigate in this vicinity has been apprized of this by one of my scouts that I despatched in search of him.

Extract of a Letter, dated August 11, 1798.

Yours of the 1st current I yesterday evening (after post time) received. I am sorry there has been any delay in answering to a matter of so important a nature, but have unfortunately been prevented receiving your lines, by being from home; and, expecting to return much sooner, yours, with some others, were kept for me until my return. The most accurate information I can give respecting the two vessels is, that one of them is a brig of a middle size, and the other a smaller vessel with only one mast, like an Emden trader. When I was in Hamburg, they were just about beginning to load them (they then lay just before Altona), and I am well persuaded, from what I saw going forward, added to the conversation I had with M., that they are destined for the use

of the Irish; although I believe them to be French property, and that M. received the commission from Leonard Bourdon during his stay in Hamburg: I have frequently seen him in company with him, and think him a very dangerous man. There were only two people on board each vessel, and, from what I could gather, they then had not procured hands to man them; nor did they intend it until they were completely full.

Their intention was to pass as neutral vessels laden with oak, which they had procured, as I supposed, for the purpose of covering the stores, &c. As to the manner in which they were painted, it is impossible for me to state that with accuracy; but the name of one was the Twee Gebruders; but rest assured they will alter both the painting at the head and the names.

[Note endorsed.] August 28, 1798.

Wrote to General Nugent to desire the collector to examine the Hamburg vessels lately arrived in Carrickfergus Bay; and, if the information should be well founded, to take measures accordingly. C.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Rastadt.

Juillet 26, 1798.

J'ignore si vous avez reçu une lettre que je vous ai écrit, il y a environ deux mois. Je sérais d'autant plus faché qu'elle ne vous fût pas parvenue qu'elle contenoit des détails très importans relativement à l'Irlande. J'avais joint la Note de différens agens et espions du Directoire ainsi que leurs noms et signalemens. Mon correspondant de Paris (le même avec lequel je suis passé en France et que je vous ai envoyé de Paris l'an passé) me mande que tout redouble d'activité chez Talleyrand Perigord, non pas pour la fameuse descente mais bien pour la continuation des troubles d'Irlande. Je n'ai rien à ajouter à tout ce que je vous ai mandé précédemment, et ce qui me rassure c'est que votre Gouvernement ne s'endort pas

(comme tant d'autres). Il y a six semaines que j'ai découvert un petit espion du Directoire a Uebertingen: il se nomme Prévôt de la Croix; et est de l'Orient. Je lui ai fait subir un rigoureux interrogatoire, et en le fouillant je lui ai trouvé un passeport pour l'Irlande signé de Duc de Portland et daté de 1796. Ce petit coquin a beaucoup de camarades et la Police ne sauroit trop surveiller les Français partout où ils se trouvent. L'espoir d'une radiation fait commettre bien de crimes et des bassesses à certains hommes. Vous n'ignorez pas que Malte a été vendu et livré par des officiers français *qui, pour prix de leurs bons et loyaux services, ont été rayés de la liste des Emigrés et pensionnés.* Ceci est une terrible leçon pour les étrangers.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from Rastadt.

July 26, 1798.

I know not whether you have received a letter, which I wrote you about two months ago. I should be the more grieved if it had not reached you, because it contained important particulars concerning Ireland. I had added to it a note of different agents and spies of the Directory, with their names and descriptions of their persons. My Paris correspondent, the same person with whom I went to France, and whom I sent from Paris to you last year, informs me that redoubled activity prevails at Talleyrand Perigord's, not on account of the famous expedition, but on account of the continuance of the disturbances in Ireland. I have nothing to add to what I have before told you; and what cheers me is, that your Government is not asleep, like so many others. It is six weeks since I discovered a little spy of the Directory's at Uebertingen: his name is Prevot de la Croix; he is from l'Orient. I subjected him to a strict examination; and, on searching him, I found a passport for Ireland, signed by the Duke of Portland, and dated 1796. This little scoundrel has plenty of comrades, and the police cannot too closely watch the French wherever they are. The hope of erasure induces the commission of many crimes and base actions by certain men. You are not ignorant that Malta was sold and delivered up by the French officers, who, *as the price of their good and loyal services, have been erased from the list of emigrants and pensioned.* This is a terrible lesson for foreigners.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 16, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to send off a messenger immediately, with the enclosed secret note, which has been received by the mail which arrived to-day from Cuxhaven, and to desire that your Lordship will lay it before the Lord-Lieutenant. I am, at the same time, to desire that your Lordship will inform his Excellency that information has been received at the Admiralty that three frigates full of troops sailed from Rochfort about eight or ten days since. This information, though not official, is thought to be well founded.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Note.

It appears, from the secret and authentic documents, to which the Lord-Lieutenant alludes in his secret despatch of the 15th inst., that, early in the year 1797, a man of the name of Lewins was sent to Paris under the name of Thompson by a number of persons calling themselves the Executive Committee of United Irishmen sitting at Dublin, as their accredited minister or agent—that this Lewins was, among other things, expressly charged to solicit an immediate invasion of Ireland, and to concert with the Directory and its Generals the means of carrying this project into execution —that he proceeded first to Hamburg, where, among other papers that were intended to have the effect of credentials, he delivered to Mr. Reinhardt, the Resident of the French Republic there, a letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald, addressed to that Minister, by which his person was identified and his mission authenticated—that, in consequence of instructions to that effect, received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, he was permitted to proceed to that place, taking Frankfort on his way, near which General Hoche then resided — that he had a letter of introduction from Mr.

Reinhardt to that General, with whom he was particularly directed to communicate confidentially on the subject of his mission—that he left Hamburg late in the month of May; was admitted to a conference by General Hoche, and received by him in a confidential manner; and that, on his arrival at Paris, the French Government gave him strong assurances of support and co-operation, the nature and extent of which were immediately transmitted by him to Dublin—that he has ever since (with some short intervals) resided at Paris as the avowed Agent of the United Irishmen.

It further appears that, about the time that Lewins was sent from Ireland, a confidential person was sent by the Directory to treat immediately with the Executive Committee at Dublin. That, means having been taken in England to prevent his going farther than London, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, at the desire of that confidential person, was deputed to meet him, and did actually meet him there, and gave him, in the greatest detail, full information on all the points on which he was instructed to require any. Lord Edward conveyed to him, at the same time, the most satisfactory assurances that the disaffected in Ireland were strong, numerous, well-disposed, and united; pointed out to him the means by which a co-operation with the French might best be effected, and, in particular, endeavoured to persuade him (what the French appear with reason to have always doubted) that the Militia and Yeomanry of Ireland were friendly to their cause.

It further appears that the Executive Committee, towards the end of June in the same year, directed Dr. M'Nevin, one of their members, to proceed to Paris, by the way of Hamburg —that the principal objects of his journey were to give additional weight and credit to the mission of Lewins; to confirm the information that had been already transmitted on the state of Ireland; to endeavour to break off the negociations at Lisle; and, above all, to give an exact account of the strength of his Majesty's forces then in Ireland; to point out

the respective places at which a landing might be effected with safety, and to endeavour to convince the Directory that a descent in Ireland was a matter, in itself, of no real difficulty, and that, if once effected, even by a small force, his Majesty's Government in that country would be easily and instantly overturned—that, on his arrival at Hamburg (where he assumed the name of Williams), it having been found advisable that he should return immediately to Dublin, he prepared a Memorial, which was actually transmitted to Paris, and which contained, in considerable detail, the substance of what he had intended to have communicated to the Directory, an extract of which Memorial is sent enclosed.

These papers contain, also, undoubted proof (as the Memorial of M'Nevin, without other evidence, would of itself have sufficiently testified), that the Executive Committee had addressed itself for assistance to the Court of Spain; and that an indirect correspondence with that Court had actually taken place, with the knowledge of the French Directory.

It appears further evident, from several documents in the possession of his Majesty's Government, that the French have uniformly refused to send any force to Ireland to the assistance of the disaffected, which should not be in itself sufficient to keep the country in subjection to France; that they would hear of nothing short of 20,000 men being sent at once; and that they have hitherto resisted all the demands of the Executive Committee, to send either officers or arms to the parts of the coast where a rising was expected to take place.

M. Reinhard à M. de la Croix.

Hambourg, 13 Prairial, [May 31].

J'eus l'honneur de vous écrire le premier du départ de Monsieur Lewins et des circonstances qui l'ont précédé: j'ignore encore si Mr. L. est arrivé à sa destination. Il ne nous a pas encore écrit, mais seulement au negociant Matthiesson, qu 'il a

prié de lui faire passer les papiers publics. Par les lettres que j'ai ou écrit par la poste, ou remis à Mr. L. je crois avoir mis le Général Hoche à portée de se mettre avec cet envoyé dans la mesure qui convient. Vous aurez sçu l'arrestation des membres des deux Comités Irlandois unis à Belfast et la publication des papiers saisis faite par le Comité secret du Parlement d'Irlande. Parmi ces papiers se trouve une lettre du Comité provincial, qui apprend à ceux de Belfast que, le Comité exécutif s'étant conduit d'une manière peu convenable, le Comité provincial a eu devoir le dissoudre en conservant cependant les deux tiers des anciens membres. Cette lettre a eté imprimée a Londres dans le True Briton, un papier ministériel. Il est très remarquable que ..... ne m'ait jamais parlé de cette circonstance. En supposant, ce qui est très vraisemblable, que cette reorganisation du Comité exécutif ait eu lieu avant le départ de Mr. L. il est assez naturel de supposer que ..... se soit trouvé au nombre des membres exclus. Tel que je l'ai jugé, ... est doué d'un caractère violent, fier, sans pour cela se dégrader à la dissimulation et à la ruse : ainsi, pour se venger de ses compatriotes, il peut avoir trahis sa cause a Mr. Pitt. Voilà une hypothèse que je désire bien que l'évènement ne vérifieroit, mais qui, si elle étoit fondée n'expliqueroit que trop la singularité de la position où je me suis trouvé vis-à-vis de ....., et l'impossibilité de me décider entre les motifs de méfiance et de facilité. Il en resulteroit que dans l'homme initié dans tous les secrets de notre parti, j'ai du déméler le traitre sans trouver le moyen de le démasquer. Je vous avoue que cette construction sur ..... aura pour moi un degré de force presqu' irrésistible, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit démenti par les faits. Comme ce sont des lettres de Lord Fitzgerald qui ont identifié sa personne, c'est à dire qui ont certifié que ..... qui s'est presenté chez moi est le même homme qui m'a été adressé par Lady Fitzgerald à son arrivée ; il faudra en conclure que ce séroit un détournement volontaire, ou avec volonté de l'imposture. Je suppose que ce dernier, ainsi que ..... soit

au nombre des membres congédiés; que pour prendre nécessairement à leur parti ils ayent concerté de leur propre autorité cette mission. Dans ce cas, ces deux hommes n'assistoient pas courageusement de trahir à la vente, mais d'infidelité et d'usurpation d'un pouvoir qu'ils n'ont point. Je crois L. incapable de perfidie mais capable d'imprudence. Je ne repondrois pas ainsi de l'autre: ce qui me convient encore venir à l'appui de mon hypothèse c'est qu'avant son départ Mr. L. a mis beaucoup d'importance à savoir s'il n'y avoit pas d'autre envoyé d'Irlande qui s'addressa à moi, et qu'il m'a prié de ne donner ma confiance qu'à lui seul. J'ai préféré de ne point faire part de ces nouvelles au Général Hoche, non seulement parceque mes moyens de correspondance avec lui sont avec [sans] certitude, mais parceque toutes les lettres de Francfort annoncent son départ pour Paris.

J'attends le retour de Monsieur Jägerhorn, qui paroit avoir trouvé des difficultés insurmontables pour passer en Irlande.

Monsieur Naval vient de me remettre l'extrait suivant d'une lettre de M. Las Casas, daté de Bath. "Voici une proclamation du Gouvernement d'Irlande qui ne servira nullement à ramener les esprits. Si les François eussent debarqué 10,000 hommes a Bantry Bay ç'eut été alors une force supérieure à celle qu' on pouvoit leur opposer: il faudroit à present 20,000 hommes et un train d'artillerie proportionné. Les Milices seront pour les François, les troupes de ligne et les Yeomen seront contraires: ces derniers sont de nouveaux corps de volontaires, composés de propriétaires riches, fermiers, marchands, et artistes. Au reste," ajoute M. de Las Casas, "rien de ce que l'opposition dit sur l'état de l'Irlande n'est exact."

Vous remarquez que l'opinion de M. de las Casas sur le nombre de troupes nécessaires pour agir en Irlande avec succès est contraire à celle de M. Lewins. Je me range décidément à celle du premier, quand ce ne seroit que par un motif de prudence qui ne doit rien laisser au hazard. Lord Vicombe [Wycombe] écrit encore Mr. las Casas, n'a point de mission

du Gouvernement Anglois, ce qui est aisé de croire ; c'est son père qui est allé en France pour engager le Gouvernement à faire entendre que les conditions de la paix seroient plus douces si l'on avoit à traiter avec un autre Ministre que ce Mr. Pitt, et particulièrement avec Lord Lansdowne. M. Las Casas pense que ce moyen ne réussiroit point, du moins en faveur du noble Marquis, dont les talents transcendans ne rabattent plus la mauvaise opinion qu'on a en Angleterre de son caractère.

TRANSLATION.

M. Reinhard, Minister of France at Hamburg, to M. de la Croix, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

15 Prairial [May 31].

I had the honour to write to you on the 1st, concerning the departure of Monsieur Lewins and the circumstances that preceded it: I am still ignorant whether Mr. L. has arrived at his destination. He has not yet written to us, but only to the *negociant* Matthiesson, whom he has requested to forward the public papers to him. By the letters which I have either sent by the post or delivered to Mr. L., I think I have given General Hoche sufficient hints to be guarded in his communications with this envoy. You must have heard of the apprehension of two committees of United Irishmen at Belfast, and the publication of the papers seized, made by the Secret Committee of the Parliament of Ireland. Among these papers is a letter from the provincial committee, informing those of Belfast that, the executive committee having conducted itself in an improper manner, the provincial committee thought fit to dissolve it, retaining, however, two-thirds of the former members. This letter has been printed in London in the True Briton, a ministerial paper. It is very remarkable that ..... should never have mentioned that circumstance to me. Supposing, which is very probable, that this reorganization of the executive took place before the departure of ....., it is natural enough to suppose that ..... should find himself among the excluded members. The opinion that I have formed of him, ..., is, that he is a man of violent and haughty character, without, on that account, stooping to dissimulation and deceit; so, in order to revenge himself on his countrymen, he may have betrayed his cause to Mr. Pitt. This is an hypothesis which I earnestly hope the event may not verify, but which, if it should prove to be founded, would but too clearly explain the singularity of the position in which I found myself with Mr. L., and the impossibility to decide

between the motives for mistrust and confidence. Hence it would follow that, in the man initiated into all the secrets of our party, I should have guessed the traitor, without finding the means of unmasking him. I confess to you that this construction put upon ..... will have an almost irresistible degree of force for me till it is contradicted by facts. As it was letters from Lord Edward Fizgerald which identified his person, that is to say, which certified that ....., who called upon me, was the person sent to me by Lady Fitzgerald on his arrival, we must thence conclude that it would be a voluntary deviation, or a wilful imposture. I suppose that the latter, as well as ....., was one of the discarded members that .....[1] they have concerted this mission upon their own authority. In this case, those two men did not courageously assist to betray to sale, but out of unfaithfulness and usurpation of a power which they do not possess. I think L. incapable of treachery, but capable of imprudence. I should not answer thus concerning the other. What seems further to concur in the support of my hypothesis is, that Mr. L., before his departure, made it a point of great importance to ascertain whether there was any other envoy from Ireland who addressed himself to me, and that he begged me not to give my confidence to any other than to him alone. I refrained from giving these tidings to General Hoche, not only because my means of correspondence with him are uncertain, but because all the letters from Frankfort announce his departure for Paris.

I am expecting the return of M. Jägerhorn, who appears to have found insurmountable difficulties to prevent his proceeding to Ireland. Monsieur de Naval has just sent me the following extract of a letter dated from Bath. "Here is a proclamation of the government of Ireland, which will not serve by any means to conciliate minds. If the French had landed 10,000 men in Bantry Bay, that would have been a force superior to that which could then have been opposed to them: now 20,000 men, and a proportionate train of artillery, would be required. The militia will be in favour of the French. The troops of the line and the yeomen will be against them. These last are new corps of volunteers, composed of landed proprietors, rich farmers, tradesmen, and artists. For the rest," adds M. de Las Casas, "all that the Opposition say concerning the state of Ireland is incorrect."

You will observe that the opinion of M. de las Casas respecting the number of troops necessary for acting in Ireland with success is contrary to that of Mr. Lewins. I concur decidedly in that of the former, were

[1] The signification of the few following words I cannot venture even to guess at.

it for no other reason, from a motive of prudence, which ought not to leave anything to chance. Lord Vicombe [Wycombe],[1] M. las Casas further writes, has no mission from the English Government, as it is easy to believe. It is his father who is gone to France to prevail upon the Government to give out that the conditions of peace would be milder if they had to treat with any other minister than Mr. Pitt, and particularly with Lord Lansdowne. M. las Casas thought that this expedient would not succeed, at least in favour of the noble Marquess, whose transcendent talents cannot produce any abatement of the bad opinion entertained in England of his character.

M. Reinhard à M. de la Croix.

Hambourg, 25 Messidor [July 12.]

Tandis que Monsieur Lewins m'a laissé perdre les traces de son voyage et que Monsieur Furnes [Turner] est allé l'écrire, Monsieur Jägerhorn est revenu de Londres, et une nouvelle deputation Irlandoise s'est presenté chez moi. Tous les efforts de Monsieur J. ayant échoué contre l'obstination avec laquelle le Duc de Portland lui refusa un passeport pour se rendre à Dublin, il se determinat à appeller Lord Fitzgerald à Londres. Celui-ci y vint sous prétexte d'accommoder sa sœur. L'authenticité de la mission de Mr. Lewins fut verifiée; des details importants sur l'état de l'Irlande furent donnés; il fut constaté que rien n'étoit derangé dans le plan et dans les ressources des patriotes unis. Je puis me dispenser de vous rendre un compte circonstantiel des renseignemens qu'a porté Monsieur F., puisqu'il rentre tout dans ce que vient de donner Monsieur Macnevin. Celui-ci est arrivé entouré de tous les motifs de confiance, et il n'a quitté Dublin que le 27 Juin; ses informations sont et de plus fraiches dates et sont à la source même. Les rapports de Monsieur Macnevin qui porte ici le nom de Williams, et qui désiroit de parâitre toujours sous ce nom, comme Monsieur Lewins sous celui de Thompson, me paroissent jetter un grand œil sur tout ce que

[1] The Earl of Wycombe, eldest son of the Marquess of Lansdowne.

le Gouvernement peut avoir intérêt à connâitre. Monsieur Macnevin a été secretaire du comité exécutif: tous ses discours le montrent comme celui qui tient l'ensemble des faits et des combinaisons. En joignant à cette depêche le Mémoire qu'il m'a remis, je vais y ajouter ce que j'ai raison de trouver d'importance dans sa conference.

Mon premier soin fut d'eclaircir ce que les papiers saisis à Belfast disoient d'un changement fait par le comité provincial dans l'organisation du comité exécutif. Il résulte des réponses de Monsieur Macnevin, combinées avec celles de Mr. Furnes, que c'est de lenteur et d'indécision que furent accusés plusieurs membres du comité; que la partie du Nord, sentant et son oppression et sa force, étoit impatient d'éclater, tandis que le comité tachoit de retarder toute explosion jusqu'à l'arrivée des François, et ne vouloit pas trop s'expliquer sur ses relations avec la France; que, cependant, après le changement du comité, il y eut des assemblées à Dublin et dans le Nord où il fut décidé qu'il falloit attendre; que la visite deplorée [derobée] qu'on fit de quelques dépôts d'armes, où l'on trouva la poudre mouillée et les fusils rouillés, y contribuoit beaucoup; et que le désir de l'assistance des François en devint plus général. Cependant, il fut décidé qu'on éclateroit lorsque les prisonniers seraient mis en liberté. Macnevin et Lord Fitzgerald sont dû parti modéré. Furnes veut une prompte explosion, et ce sont quelques imprudences que son caractère ardent a entrainé qui l'ont forcé de fuir; tandis que la marche de Monsieur Macnevin a été assez circonspecte pour que rien ne s'oppose à son retour.

Ces indications, citoyen ministre, m'ont paru precieuses, comme il *paroit préférable pour nos intérêts que les Irlandois se montrent sans nous attendre:* c'est dans ce sens que j'ai parlé a Monsieur M., faisant valoir l'expédition déjà tentée comme une preuve décisive des dispositions du gouvernement François, passées et futures. J'ai fait sentir que, dire d'une part, "Aidez, et nous éclaterons," de l'autre, "Eclatez, et nous aiderons,"

était un cercle vicieux, dont il falloit que les Irlandois sortirent les premiers; que les negotiations ouvertes, loin de paroître un indice [obstacle] à l'insurrection, devaient plutôt l'accélérer; puisque ce ne serait qu'alors que le gouvernement François, en supposant la paix, se trouverait en état d'influer sur les conditions de l'accommodement; qu'en supposant la guerre, l'explosion commencée dévoit également faciliter le succès des Français; puisque depuis longtems le gouvernement Anglois me parait fier [trop prêt] pour qu'on put songer à le prendre au dépourvu; que la crainte d'être écrasée ne devoit pas..... pour ..... une union forte de 150,000 hommes; dans le Midi enfin une nation entière, résolue d'être libre—qu'au reste je le priois de ne voir en tout ceci que mon opinion personnelle, qui pourroit être sujet à l'erreur, mais qui paraissait cependant fondée dans la nature des choses.

Monsieur M., en convenant de la justice de mes raisons, a ajouté que je sentirais cette connaissance [consequence] qu'en n'éclatant pas, la [chance] de l'accommodement devoit être meilleur que lorsqu'il s'agissait du danger de rentrer sous l'oppression, peut-être pour un siècle; la prudence étoit un devoir sacré; qu'une explication positive de la part du gouvernement Français était en toute hypothèse infiniment désirable elle-même pour diriger leur marche; que les de[1] ..... l'état des choses, il avait la mission speciale de s'informer de ce que l'Irlande pourrait espérer en cas de guerre ou de paix; que, tandis que les uns regardent la séparation de l'Irlande comme étant trop décisivement contre l'Angleterre pour que la France pût jamais en abandonner l'idée, les autres cependant se découragent.

Monsieur M. m'a temoigné un désir extrême d'aller en France, non seulement pour obtenir des informations, mais pour donner les siennes; une heure de conférence avec des

[1] Here follows a passage that is wholly unintelligible. It is indeed evident that the transcriber neither understood French, nor could read the handwriting of the original.

membres du gouvernement et avec Monsieur Luines lui parâit devoir amener des résultats très importants. Quant à ce dernier, Monsieur M. confirme non seulement qu'il possède et qu'il mérite la plus grande confiance, mais qu'il est designé comme ministre à Paris en cas de succès. Monsieur M. désiroit beaucoup que son Mémoire lui fut communiqué.

Quant à moi, je croyerois par plusieurs raisons que Monsieur M. retournat en Irlande.

L'avantage à ce qu'ils purent dire contradictoirement avec Monsieur Furnes pour discuter les deux opinions qui divisent leur compatriotes; mais, comme la détermination du gouvernement Français me paroit en ce moment-ci devoir être subordonnée aux circonstances, il vaut peut-être mieux le renvoyer satisfait des espérances provisoires qu'il a pu venir recevoir ici. En consequence, je lui ai fait sentir que la presence en France de Messieurs Lewins et Furnes, l'accueil au premier par le Général Hoche, les promesses et les preuves déjà données, devoient suffiser pour fixer l'incertitude des Irlandois; *qu'il importoit moins d'augmenter le nombre des agents en France qu'animer les esprits, le courage, des compatriotes; qu'il étoit essentiel de bien établir une chaine de corréspondance par laquelle on put s'informer mutuellement avec promptitude;* et que de cette manière il rempliroit entièrement le but qu'on s'etoit proposé par son envoi. M.M. a d'abord cru voir dans cette opinion un refus, qui lui a paru de mauvais augure pour ce que l'Irlande pourroit espérer des intentions du gouvernement Français. Il alloit parler, mais pour dire qu'il ne falloit compter sur rien, et ce n'est qu'en assurant que j'étois prêt à lui donner les instructions nécessaires pour son voyage que j'ai pu le rassurer. Il se décidera démain sur le parti qu'il devra prendre, et je chercherai à faire prevaloir celui de retourner dans son pays.

Le motif principal qu'a déterminé les Irlandois à s'adresser à l'Espagne par le canal de Monsieur Naval a été la raison d'en obtenir de l'argent plutôt que de nous. C'est à quoi se sont

bornées les instructions de Monsieur Luines. Il y a ajouté une démande d'armes et de munition, qui paroit superflue à Monsieur M. mais une autre idée encore [dirige] les Irlandois. En cas de paix, ils pensent que l'Espagne pourroit être motivée en mesure d'intercéder en leur faveur ; que la France, ayant à exiger que l'Angleterre ne se mêle point des affaires intérieures de la République, doit s'attendre peut-être à ce qu'on lui demande la [même chose].

Monsieur Naval a reçu une seconde lettre du Prince de Paix, qui lui apprend que le Gouvernement Français ne s'est pas encore expliqué sur les affaires d'Irlande avec lui. Il désiroit que, si le Gouvernement juge à propos de se concerter à ce sujet, cela se fit par le canal du Citoyen Perignon. Au reste, Citoyen Ministre, ce qui s'est passé entre Monsieur M. et moi est une preuve nouvelle de la delicatesse de ma position ; n'ayant aucune assurance à donner, aucune autorité de centre qui puisse me diriger—je dis qu' en montrant de la froideur ou de l'incertitude d' affaiblir les ressorts d' une machine dont, en toute hypothèse, la République a intérêt à ménager et à diriger le jeu. La connoissance du veritable état de l' Irlande, la crainte pour l' Angleterre d' une insurrection toujours prête à y éclater, doit nécessairement mettre un point très considerable dans la base des négociations, et il ne peut nullement être indifférent pour nous que l' accommodement se fasse avant la paix ou après. Je l' ai chargé de promettre aux Irlandois l' assistance du Gouvernement. Par un Arrêté . . . . . du Gouvernement, chargé par une lettre de transmettre au Général Hoche ce que me parviendroit de ce pays-la, je dois accueillir et écouter les personnes qui en viennent ; et s'il ne m' appartient point de pénétrer ou d'interpréter les desseins actuels du Gouvernement, je dois, en me référant à ce qui s'est passé, en laissant tirer des conclusions pour l' avenir. C' est d' après l'idée que j'ai de mes devoirs que j'ai envoyé au Général Hoche Monsieur Luines et Monsieur Samuel Furnes : comme alors toutes les gazettes annoncoient le départ du Citoyen

Hoche pour Paris, j'ai cédé à la démande de ce dernier en lui donnant un passeport, comme Americain, sur sa promesse de ne s'en servir que dans le cas où pour rencontrer le Général il faudroit aller en France.

PS. Je viens de recevoir un Mémoire dans lequel Monsieur Jägerhorn me rend compte de son voyage. Je vous le ferai parvenir par le courier prochain. Encore une fois cet estimable Suéde a montré un grand dévouement à la cause de la liberté. J'apprends que plusieurs Irlandois sont arrivé ici, dans l'intention de s'embarquer en France avec l'expédition qu' ils supposent destinée pour l'Irlande. Chacun des ces patriotes compte d'être utile par son influence personelle dans plusieurs comtés de l' Isle. J' insiste, Citoyen Ministre, à ce, qu' au moins pour cette partie, vous ayez la bonté de me diriger envers Monsieur Macniven. Je ne donnerai plus de passeport sans votre ordre.

TRANSLATION.

M. Reinhard to M. de la Croix.

Hamburg, 25 Messidor [July 12.]

While Mr. Lewins has suffered me to lose all traces of his journey, and Mr. Furnes is gone to write to him, M. Jägerhorn has returned from London, and a new Irish deputation has called upon me. All the efforts of M. Jägerhorn having failed against the obstinacy with which the Duke of Portland refused him a passport for proceeding to Dublin, he determined to call Lord Fitzgerald to London. The latter came upon pretext of accommodating his sister. The authenticity of the mission of Mr. Lewins was verified; important details respecting the state of Ireland were given; it was ascertained that there was no derangement in the plan, and in the resources of the united patriots. It is unnecessary for me to give you a circumstantial account of the information brought by Mr. F., since he enters fully into that which Mr. Macnevin has just given. The latter came surrounded by all the motives for confidence, and he did not leave Dublin till the 27th of June: his intelligence is of the latest date, and from the very source. The reports of Mr. Macnevin, who goes here by the name of Williams, and who would wish to appear always under that name, as Mr. Lewins under that of Thompson, appear to me to throw great light upon all that the Government can have an

interest to know. Mr. Macnevin has been secretary of the executive committee, and all that he says proves him to be a man thoroughly acquainted with the *ensemble* of facts and combinations. In annexing to this despatch the Memorial which he delivered to me, I shall add what I have reason to think of importance in his conference.

My first care was to clear up what the papers seized at Belfast said concerning a change made by the provincial committee in the organization of the executive committee. It results from the answers of Mr. Macnevin, conjointly with those of Mr. Furnes, that it was of dilatoriness and indecision that several members of the committee were accused; that the northern province, feeling its oppression and its strength, was impatient to break forth, while the committee strove to defer any explosion till the arrival of the French, and declined giving a full explanation of its relations with France; that, nevertheless, after the change of the committee, meetings were held in Dublin and in the North, at which it was resolved to wait; that the clandestine visitation of several depôts of arms, where the powder was found damp and the muskets rusty, contributed a good deal to that resolution; and that the desire for the assistance of the French had in consequence become more general than ever. It was, however, decided that a rising should take place when the prisoners were set at liberty. Macnevin and Lord Fitzgerald are of the moderate party. Furnes is for a speedy explosion; and it is some imprudences into which his ardent character has hurried him, that have obliged him to leave the country; whereas, the conduct of Mr. Macnevin has been so circumspect, that there is nothing to oppose his return.

These indications, citizen minister, have appeared to me valuable, for it seems preferable for our interests, that the Irish should show themselves without waiting for us: it is in this spirit that I spoke to Mr. M., laying stress upon the expedition already attempted, as a decisive proof of the dispositions of the French government, past and future. I represented that to say on the one side, "Assist, and we will rise," and on the other, "Rise, and we will assist," is a vicious circle, which it behoves the Irish to get out of the first; that the negociations opened, so far from appearing to be a hindrance to the insurrection, ought rather to accelerate it; since not till then would the French government, supposing peace to ensue, find itself in a condition to influence the terms of the accommodation; that supposing war to continue, the explosion begun must equally facilitate the success of the French; since, for a long time, the English government appears to me too well prepared for any one to think of taking it by surprise; that the fear of being crushed ought not to deter

a union 150,000 strong from arming; in the South finally, an entire nation, resolved to be free—that for the rest, I begged him to consider all this as my personal opinion only, which might be liable to error, but which, nevertheless, appeared to be founded on the nature of things.

Mr. M., in admitting the justice of my reasons, added that I must be aware of this consequence that, in not rising, the chance of an accommodation must be better than when the question was about returning under oppression, perhaps for a century; that prudence was a sacred duty, and that a positive explanation with the French government was under any hypothesis infinitely desirable itself, to direct their course..... He had the special mission to inquire what Ireland had to hope for in case of war or peace; that, while the United Irishmen consider the separation of Ireland as being too decidedly injurious to England for France ever to be able to relinquish the idea, the others are nevertheless discouraged.

Mr. M. expressed the strongest desire to go to France, not only to obtain information, but to communicate his. An hour's conference with the members of the Government, and with Mr. Lewins, must, as he seemed to think, lead to important results. As for the latter, Mr. M. not only attested that he possesses and deserves the utmost confidence, and that he is designated a minister at Paris in case of success. Mr. M. wished much that his Memorial should be communicated to him. For my part, it is my opinion, for several reasons, that Mr. M. should return to Ireland.

The[re would be an] advantage in what they might say contradictorily to Mr. Furnes for discussing the two opinions which divide their countrymen; but, as it appears to me that, at this moment, the determination of the French Government must be guided by circumstances, it is perhaps better to send him back satisfied with the provisional hopes which he has found means to come and receive here. In consequence, I represented to him that the presence of Lewins and Furnes in France, the favourable reception of the former by General Hoche, the promises and proofs already given, ought to be sufficient to fix the uncertainty of the Irish; that it was of less importance to increase the number of agents in France, than to animate the minds and the courage of his countrymen; that it was essential to establish firmly a chain of correspondence, by which both parties might mutually obtain information with despatch; that, in this manner, he would completely fulfil the end proposed by his mission. Mr. M. was at first disposed to regard this opinion as a refusal, which appeared to him a bad omen as to what Ireland had to hope for from the

intentions of the French Government. He began to speak, but it was to say that he must not reckon upon anything; and it was only by assuring him that I was ready to give him the necessary instructions, that I contrived to cheer him up. He will decide to-morrow what course he ought to take, and I shall strive to prevail upon him to return home.

The principal motive which has induced the Irish to apply to Spain, through the medium of M. Naval, has been to obtain money from her rather than from us. It was to this that the instructions of Mr. Lewins were confined. He added to them an application for arms and ammunition, which appeared superfluous to Mr. M., but another idea still sways the Irish. They think that Spain might be induced to intercede in their favour; that France, having a right to require that England should not interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic, may perhaps expect that the same thing will be required of her.

Monsieur Naval has received a second letter from the Prince of the Peace, which informs him that the French Government has not yet explained itself with him in regard to the affairs of Ireland. He desired that, if that Government thought fit to concert with him on the subject, it might be through the channel of Citizen Perignon.

For the rest, citizen minister, what has passed between Mr. M. and me is a fresh proof of the delicacy of my position, having no assurance to give, no central authority to direct me—I say that to show coldness and uncertainty is the way to weaken the springs of a machine, the working of which, under every hypothesis, the Republic has an interest in humouring and directing. A knowledge of the real state of Ireland, and the dread felt by England of an insurrection always ready to break out, must necessarily introduce a very considerable point into the basis of the negociations, and it cannot be by any means indifferent to us whether the accommodation takes place before the peace or after. I charged him to promise the Irish the assistance of the Government. By an *arrêté* . . . . . of the Government, being directed to transmit to General Hoche whatever should reach me from that country, it is my duty to receive and to listen to persons who come from it; and if it does not belong to me to fathom and to interpret the present designs of the Government, I cannot avoid it, on referring to what is past, and venturing to draw conclusions respecting the future. It is consistently with the idea which I have of my duties that I sent Mr. Lewins and Mr. Samuel Furnes to General Hoche. As at that time all the newspapers announced the departure of Citizen Hoche for Paris, I yielded to the solicitation of the latter, and gave him a passport as an American,

upon his promise not to make use of it, unless in case that he should not meet with General Hoche and be obliged to go to France.

PS. I have just received a Memorial, in which M. Jägerhorn gives me an account of his journey. I will send it to you by the next courier. That estimable Swede has again manifested great devotedness to the cause of liberty. I am just informed that several Irish have arrived here, with the intention of embarking in France with the expedition which they suppose to be destined for Ireland. Every one of these patriots calculates on being useful by his personal influence in several counties of the island. What I must particularly urge, citizen minister, in regard to this business, is, at least, that you will have the goodness to direct me as to Mr. Macnevin. I will not give another passport without your order.

M. Reinhard à M. de la Croix.—Rapport de M. Jägerhorn.

Hambourg, 26 Messidor [July 13.]

Monsieur Jägerhorn, après avoir rendu compte des efforts inutiles pour pénétrer en Irlande, du moyen qu' il a employé, sans compromettre le secrétaire de sa mission, pour correspondre avec Lord Fitzgerald du voyage de celui-ci a Londres, et l'authenticité de la mission de Mr. Thompson [Lewins] ajoute —" quant à l'objet secondaire de ma mission, je commençai par déclarer à Lord Edward, conformément à mes instructions, que mon objet n' étoit nullement de m' insinuer dans aucune confidence ou relation qui pourroit avoir lieu avec le Gouvernement de la République Françoise, mais que mon devoir étoit de recevoir toutes les communications qu'il jugeroit pour les intérêts de son pays de me faire. Il me répondit qu' il saisiroit d'autant plus volontairement cette voye de faire parvenir les requisitions de ses compatriotes au Gouvernement François, que depuis quelque tems toute espèce de relation avoit entièrement cessé. Il résulte de tout ce que m' a dit Lord F. que le nombre des défenseurs de la confédération des Irlandois s'augmente tous les jours, et qu'on avoit redoublé en énergie à mesure que le Gouvernement Anglois est devenu plus vexatoire et persécuteur. La confédération formée sous le nom des United Irish-

men, établie en société de 36 personnes, a pleinement organisé sa forme et existence politique. Le nombre des hommes qui se sont dévoués à la défense des droits de leur patrie approche de 100,000 hommes, et réduits à ceux qui peuvent porter les armes, il se monte pour le moins à 40,000 combattants. Toute la nation Irlandoise, à l'exception d'individus précorrompûs par le Gouvernement Anglois, est animée du même esprit, mais il est affligeant de remarquer que dans ce nombre des patriotes il n' existe que 12 à 15,000 hommes très mal armés. Il n' y a que 7 piéces d'artillerie y compris un mortier, et un manque total d'officiers supérieurs et de génie. Le Gouvernement Anglois augmente tous les jours la force de l'armée dans cette Isle. On évalue actuellement les troupes réglées à 40,000 hommes, dont cependant parmi les milices du pays, aussi bien que dans le corps d'artillerie, un grand nombre sont disposé à adopter les sentiments des Irlandois unis.

" Il est clair que les patriotes Irlandois, laissés à eux-mêmes dans les circonstances présentes, n'ont pas qu' à choisir entre les deux alternatives, ou d' abaisser leur patrie à ses oppresseurs, ou de s'assurer par un coup désespéré le sort glorieux de périr pour elle. En supposant aussi que la République Françoise et ses Alliés, sur lesquels la Nation Irlandoise s'est d'abord en droit de compter, voulurent leur donner des secours, voici quelles seroient leurs démandes.

" Le premier article consiste en armes et en munition. Il seroit possible de faire partir sur des vaisseaux séparés des cargaisons assorties ; si on prend deux en chemin, la troisième arrivera. C'est dans les ports de Carrickfergus, Loughfoyle, et de Loughswilly, que l' on recevroit avec le plus de facilité et d'avantage les secours que l' on pourra envoyer. Il doit exister à Brest des pilotes Irlandois experimentés dans l'objet de guider dans un trajet à ces trois ports les vaisseaux qui y seroient destinés.

" Le second article consiste en bon officiers de toute espèce, mais principalement de génie et d'artillerie, Quoique les Irlan-

dois comptent infiniment sur leur propre force, ils recevront avec grande joye les troupes et les vaisseaux de leurs Alliés, qui, pour remplir leur intention, devoient arriver dans un des ports susnommés, la partie du Nord étant la mieux organisée. Il faut remarquer que dans le port de Loughfoyle il ne peut entrer que de petits vaisseaux tirant de 10 a 12 pieds de profond."

Monsieur Jägerhorn ajoute à ces détails des reflexions générales sur les avantages qui naitroient pour la France de l'independance de l'Irlande, sur la probabilité du succès des descentes qui pourront être determinés, et sur le parti qu'on pourroit tirer des dispositions de cette . . . . . dans les négociations avec la Grande Bretagne.

TRANSLATION.

M. Reinhard to M. de la Croix.—Report of M. Jägerhorn.

Hamburg, 26 Messidor [July 13.]

M. Jägerhorn, after giving an account of his useless efforts to penetrate into Ireland, and of the means which he employed to do so, without compromising the secretary of his mission, to correspond with Lord Fitzgerald upon the journey of the latter to London, and the authenticity of the mission of Mr. Thompson, [Lewins] adds: "With respect to the secondary object of my mission, I began with declaring to Lord Edward, agreeably to my instructions, that my object was not by any means to insinuate myself into any confidence or relation which might have taken place with the Government of the French Republic; but that my duty was to receive all the communications which he should judge it to be for the interests of his country to make to me. He replied, that he would the more willingly take that way of transmitting the requisitions of his countrymen to the French Government, because, for some time past, every kind of relation had entirely ceased. It was clear, from all that Lord F. told me, that the number of the defenders of the Confederation of the Irish is daily increasing, and that their energy had redoubled in proportion as the English Government is become persecuting and vexatious. The confederation formed under the name of the United Irishmen, established in society of 36 persons, has fully organized its form and political existence. The number of the men who have devoted themselves to the defence of the rights of their country amounts to nearly 100,000; and, reduced to those who are capable of bearing arms, it comprehends at least 40,000 combatants. The whole Irish nation, with the excep-

tion of persons pre-corrupted by the English Government, is animated by the same spirit; but it is afflicting to remark that, among this number of patriots, from twelve to fifteen thousand men are very badly armed. There are but seven pieces of artillery, including one mortar, and there is a total want of superior officers and of engineers. The English Government is daily augmenting the force of the army in that island. The regular troops are at present estimated at 40,000 men, of which, however, the militia of the country and the corps of artillery, in great number, are disposed to adopt the sentiments of the United Irishmen.

"It is evident, however, that the Irish patriots, left to themselves, in the present circumstances, have the choice between but two alternatives, either to abase their country to its oppressors, or to ensure to themselves, by a desperate effort, the glorious fate of perishing for it. Supposing also that the French Republic and its allies, on whom the Irish nation has first a right to reckon, were willing to afford assistance, their demands would be these:—

"The first, article by article, consists of arms and ammunition. It would be possible to despatch, in separate vessels, assorted cargoes: if two were taken by the way, the third might arrive. It is in the ports of Carrickfergus, Loughfoyle, and Loughswilly that any succours which might be sent would be received with most facility and advantage. There must be at Brest Irish pilots sent off to steer to those three ports the vessels bound to them.

"The second article consists of good officers of all sorts, particularly of engineers and artillery. Though the Irish have infinite reliance on their own strength, they will receive with great joy the troops and ships of their allies, which, in order to fulfil their intentions, ought to arrive in the above-mentioned ports, the northern province being the best organized. It should be observed that only small vessels, drawing from 10 to 12 feet water, can enter the port of Loughfoyle."

To these details, M. Jägerhorn adds general reflections on the advantages which would accrue to France from the independence of Ireland, on the probability of the success of the expeditions which may be determined upon, and on the benefit to be derived from the dispositions of tha- ..... [nation] in the negociations with Great Britain.

M. Reinhard à M. de la Croix.

Hambourg, 6 Thermidor [July 23.]

Monsieur Giaugue [Geoghegan] mari de la sœur de l'Irlant dois Tone, est venu me porter une lettre datée de Delfzyl, qui

lui annonce que trois Irlandois, comptant se rendre en France par Hambourg, et s'étant trouvés sur le paquebot Anglais le Dauphin, pris par un Corsaire Français, vont probablement être conduits à Dunkerque. Madame Giaugue disant connaître l'écriture de la lettre, j'ai cru devoir vous rendre compte de ce fait.

Monsieur Dukett, à ce que je crois, est encore ici. Il m'avait remis une lettre pour le Ministre de la Marine, qui étant en clair et ne disant rien de nouveau, est restée entre mes mains.

J'avais proposé a Monsieur M'Navin de se rapprocher de Monsieur Dukett. Il a refusé en ajoutant qu'il rencontrerait en Irlande le même refus à moins qu'il ne se justifiat de sa mission de la part du Gouvernement François. Monsieur Duckett doit avoir écrit au Ministre de la Marine pour démander de l'argent qui lui est absolument nécessaire pour son voyage.

TRANSLATION.

M. Reinhard to M. de la Croix.

Hamburg, 6 Thermidor [July 23.]

M. Giaugue [Geoghegan?] husband of the sister of Tone, the Irishman, has just brought me a letter, dated Delfzyl, informing him that three Irishmen, intending to go to France by way of Hamburg, and being on board the English packet, the Dauphin, taken by a French privateer, will probably be taken into Dunkirk. Mrs. Giaugue saying that she knew the handwriting of the letter, I have thought it my duty to apprize you of this fact.

Mr. Duckett, as I believe, is still here. He has transmitted to me a letter for the Minister of the Marine, which, being *en clair*, and saying nothing new, has remained in my hands.

I proposed to Mr. Macnevin to reconcile himself with Mr. Duckett. He has refused to do so, adding that he should meet with the like refusal in Ireland, unless he should justify his mission on the part of the French Government. Mr. Duckett was to have written to the Minister of the Marine to apply for money, which is absolutely necessary for his journeys.

Reinhard à Talleyrand.

Hambourg, 13 Thermidor (July 30).

Des trois Irlandois dont je vous ai annoncé l'arrivée par le dernier courier, deux sont partis pour . . . . .; le troisième se

propose de retourner dans son pays. Du moment où Monsieur Giaugue les avoit informés que leur compatriote Thompson alloit s'émbarquer sur la flotte Hollandoise, ils montroient une grande impatience de le rejoindre. Je m'y opposois d'autant moins que je m'étois, pour ainsi dire, interdis la faculté de leur donner des passeports pour la France. Le . . . . . avec lequel, au reste, je ne suis entré dans aucun detail sur les affaires d'Irlande, leur a donné des passeports et des lettres. J'ai d'autant plus encouragé la resolution que le troisième a pris de retourner en Irlande, qu'il avoit allégué comme motif principal de leur voyage la nécessité de calmer les inquietudes de la masse des Irlandois unis, qui n'étant instruits ni du voyage de Mr. Thompson ni de celui de Mr. Villiams, commençoient à murmurer de l'indifférence qu' on montroit à l'égard de la France. Le départ de ces nouveaux envoyés fut donc resolu, et rendu public, pour ranimer les esprits. Celui qui retournera avoit rassemblé assez de données pour produire cet effet. Tout les trois, ayant quitté Dublin un jour avant M. Villiams, n'ont pleinement confirmé les informations données par ceux qui les ont précédés. Ce sont des hommes dont la bonne foy et l'energie sont empreintes sur le visage, et qui, sous une apparence de froideur, cachent un enthousiasme pour la liberté dont on doit quelquefois faciliter la flamme.

PS. En me rapportant à ce que j'ai dit au sujet de Mr. Duckett dans mes lettres précédentes, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire passer la lettre ci-jointe, qu'il destine au Citoyen Truguet.

TRANSLATION.

M. Reinhard to M. Talleyrand.[1]

Hamburg, 13 Thermidor [30 July].

Two of the three Irishmen of whose arrival I informed you by the last courier, have set out for . . . . . ; the third proposes to return to his own country. From the moment that Giaugue apprized them that their countryman Thompson was about to embark in the Dutch fleet, they ma-

[1] Talleyrand had just been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in place of M. de la Croix.

nifested great impatience to rejoin him. I made the less opposition to this, because I was forbidden, as it were, to give them passports for France. The ....., with whom, for the rest, I have not entered into any detail concerning the affairs of Ireland, gave them passports and letters. I encouraged so much the more the resolution which the third has taken to return to Ireland, because he had alleged as the principal motive of their journey the necessity for relieving the uneasiness of the mass of the United Irish, who, not being informed either of Mr. Thompson's journey, or that of Mr. Williams, began to murmur at the indifference which was shown in regard to France. The departure of these three new envoys was therefore resolved upon and made public, to cheer their spirits. He who is to return, has collected data sufficient to produce that effect. All three, having left Dublin a day before Mr. Williams, they have not fully confirmed the information given by those who preceded them. They are men who have good faith and energy impressed upon their faces, and who, under an appearance of coldness, disguise an enthusiasm for liberty, the flame of which one ought sometimes to facilitate.

Referring to what I have said in my preceding letters respecting Mr. Duckett, I have the honour to forward to you the annexed letter, which he destines for Citizen Truguet.

Au Citoyen Truguet, Ex-ministre de la Marine et des Colonies.

C' est avec le plus vif regret que je viens d' apprendre le changement qui s' est effectué dans le Ministère de la Marine. C' est moins les considérations particulières que la crainte de ne pas trouver dans votre successeur le même attachement aux principes, le même zèle pour la cause de la liberté, et le même désir d'établir l'independance de ma patrie qui m'intéressent si fortement à votre sortie du Ministère. Que dois-je penser de ce changement? Le gouvernement est-il toujours résolu de suivre les mêmes plans et les mêmes projets? Ma patrie peut-elle compter sur ses promesses? Faites moi savoir, je vous le demande au nom de la liberté, ce qui me reste à faire. Irai-je chez moi pour hater l' époque auquel nous voulons tous arriver? Réfléchissez qu'il n y a que des patriotes et des ennemis d' Angleterre qui risquent quelque chose: c' est leur sang seul qui coulera.

Je viens de recevoir une lettre d' un ami qui marche dans le

même sens que moi. Il m'assure que la négociation actuelle a jetté l'alarme parmi les patriotes. Ses effets ne se bornent pas à la classe non éclairée. Ils se font sentir partout. Les individus les mieux instruits n'en sont pas exempts. Ceux-la aussi commencent à entretenir leurs doutes et leur craintes. Que je sache, citoyen, de quelle manière je pourrai les rassurer.

Les craintes que j'avois de ne pouvoir convertir en argent votre billet se sont malheureusement realisées. Je l'ai presenté au Citoyen Reinhard. Je lui ai exposé ce que j'étais et *ce que j'allais faire.* Je lui ai montré combien il était nécessaire que je quittasse Hambourg. Il m'a répondu que ses moyens personnels ne le permettaient pas de pouvoir agréer à ma démande, en ajoutant qu'il ne pouvoit pas agir puisque je n'avais pas une lettre particulière pour lui. Cependant je ne lui étais pas tout-à-fait inconnu. Il m'avait déjà vû au Comité de Salut Public. Il était même chargé de faire un rapport pour moi par le commissaire des relations intérieures. Tous ces motifs ont fait place aux raisons que sa prudence lui avait suggéré à mon égard. Je suis au desespoir de ce que je ne me trouve pas aujourd'hui à ma destination. Vous savez combien je m'intéresse à cette cause: ma présence deviendra utile à la nécessité de nos amis. Je n'attends que votre réponse pour partir. Je vous prierais seulement de parler de moi à votre successeur, de lui exposer ma situation et mes besoins, afin qu'il prenne en considération les dépenses que je serais nécessité de faire; car, une *fois arrivé à mon poste*, il me deviendra peut-être impossible de recevoir de ses secours. Je vous démande donc qu'il me mette à l'abri des évènemens, en faisant remettre a Hambourg une somme qui me donne les moyens d'exister et d'agir. Il ne m'appartient pas de la fixer. C'est à lui dans sa sagesse de voir quelle somme me sera nécessaire et indispensable pour les dépenses de six mois. Il me devient inutile de vous assurer de mon attachement à la cause, et de la haute consideration que j'ai pour vous personnellement.

PS.—Adressez votre réponse au Citoyen Reinhard: c'est lui que se charge de vous faire passer cette lettre.

TRANSLATION.

To Citizen Truguet, Ex-minister of the Marine and of the Colonies.

It is with the deepest regret that I have just learned the change which has taken place in the ministry of the Marine. It is not so much individual considerations, as the fear of not finding in your successor the same attachment to the principles, and the same zeal for the cause, of liberty, and the same desire to establish the independence of my country, and that I take so strong an interest in your quitting the ministry. What am I to think of this change? Is the Government still resolved to prosecute the same plans and the same projects? Can my country rely upon its promises? Let me know, I beseech you, in the name of liberty, what is to be done. Shall I go home to accelerate the period for the arrival of which we are all solicitous? Consider that it is only patriots and enemies of England who risk anything: it is their blood that will flow.

I have just received a letter from a friend, who is pursuing the same course as myself. He assures me that the present negociation has thrown alarm among the patriots. Its effects are not confined to the unenlightened class. They are felt everywhere. The best-informed persons are not exempt from them. These, too, begin to entertain their doubts and their fears. Let me know, citizen, in what manner I can cheer them. The fears I had lest I should not be able to convert your bill into money are unfortunately realized. I have presented it to Citizen Reinhard, explained to him who I was, and what I was going to do. I showed him how necessary it was that I should leave Hamburg. He replied that his personal means did not permit him to comply with my application, adding that he could not act, because I had not a particular letter for him. Nevertheless, I was not wholly unknown to him. He had already seen me at the Committee of Public Welfare. He was even charged by the Commissioner of Internal Relations to make a report for me. All these motives gave way to the reasons which his prudence had suggested to him in regard to me. I am grievously mortified that I am not at this moment at the place of my destination. You know how deeply I interest myself in this cause: my presence will be conducive to the success of our friends. I wait for nothing but your answer to set out. I would merely request you to speak about me to your successor, to explain to him my situation and my necessities, in order that he may

take into consideration the expences which I shall be absolutely obliged to incur; for, when once arrived at my post, it will perhaps be impossible for me to receive assistance from him. I therefore beg of you to make him put me beyond the reach of accidents, by causing a sum that will afford me the means of subsisting and acting to be remitted to Hamburg. It does not belong to me to fix it. It is for him in his wisdom to see what sum will be necessary and indispensable for the expences of six months. It would be superfluous to assure you of my attachment to the cause, and of the high consideration which I have for you personally.

PS.—Address your answer to Citizen Reinhard: it is he who undertakes to forward this letter to you.

Extrait de la Traduction d'un Mémoire relatif à une Descente en Irlande.[1]

L'apparition des Français dans la baye de Bantry a encouragé les Irlandois les moins énergiques et leur a fait concevoir l'espérance de secouer le joug de l'Angleterre. L'évènement a prouvé combien étoit fausse l'idée qu'on ne pouvoit envahir l'Irlande qu'au moyen d'une flotte supérieure, mais le lieu de débarquement a été si mal mandé que nous ne pouvons attribuer l'entrée de la flotte à Bantry Bay qu'à la nécessité de chercher un asyle contre la tempête. Si l'on entreprenoit une nouvelle expédition avec le dessein de prendre Cork, nous indiquerions Oyster Haven.

Je n'insisterai pas sur les avantages qu'offre ce lieu de débarquement, parcequ'ils seront detaillés par Mr. Thompson [*i. e.* Lewins] notre plénipotentiaire. Je dirai seulement que depuis son départ on a élevé quelques ouvrages aux environs de Bantry, qu'on y a placé de canons, et qu'il existe une position à Fermoy, et une autre sur la route de Mallow. Suivant les militaires, une petite force peut y résister à une beaucoup plus considérable. D'un autre coté, le système des Irlandois unis a fait de grands et rapides progrès dans le comté de Cork. Bandon est devenu un autre Belfast. Le système est trés bien établi dans les comtés de Tipperary et

[1] Dr. M'Nevin's Memorial, addressed to the French Directory.

de Limerick, particulièrement dans la ville de Limerick, mais dans toutes ces places les habitans manquent entièrement d'armes, et ne pourroient agir que lorsque les Français auroient obtenu quelque succès. Nous ne nous rendons responsables que de la co-opération des places que nous désignons comme en étant capables. Nous répétons que c'est le Nord et la côte du nord-ouest. Dans la province d'Ulster il y a 150,000 Irlandois unis organisés et enrolés : une grande partie est enregimentée ; un tiers pourroit sortir de la province, et tous y vont avec activité. Carrickfergus seroit un mauvais lieu de débarquement : la mer entre cette place et l'Ecosse est très étroite, et la navigation n'en est pas très sûre avec les vents de nord-ouest. Le chateau de Carrickfergus a une garnison quoiqu'elle ne soit pas très forte. Belfast a aussi une garnison d'environ deux mille hommes. Dans le camp de Blasis, qui est fort et bien situé, il y a aussi 2000 hommes. Entre Hilsborough, Lisburn, Duncannon, Charlemont, Armagh, et Newry, il peut y avoir le double des forces qui se trouvent à Blasis ; de sorte que l'ennemi, s'il étoit forcé de se retirér, concentreroit ses forces en se repliant sur la capitale. C'est un de ces districts où le peuple est le plus surveillé par le militaire, qui est pour la plus grande partie composé d'Anglois et d'Ecossois — à la verité ils changent souvent de garnison ; mais le gouvernement a toujours eu la prudence d'entretenir un nombre considérable de troupes étrangeres dans le Nord.

L'entrée de Lough Foyle est difficile, et les habitans du Nord disent que le port n'en est pas bon, quoique le pays qui l'environne soit dans le meilleur état. Lough Swilly est un des meilleurs ports de l'Isle, et les dispositions des habitans y sont excellentes.

Si l'on exécutoit un débarquément à l'Est, le petit pays entre Lough Swilly et Lough Foyle se leveroit en masse. Il est très abondant en chevaux et en bétail, mais il y a une garnison à Derry d'environ 1200 à 1500 hommes, qui pourroit disputer le passage étroit à la ville. Au reste, on y trouveroit

peut-être encore le régiment de Tipperary, fort de 700 hommes et devoué à son pays.

Si le débarquement se feroit au midi, la marche seroit plus difficile et plus longue, mais on traverseroit cependant un pays ami, et dont le peuple s'empresseroit de se réunir a l'armée Françoise. Killybegs seroit aussi un excellent lieu de débarquement : il n'y a point de troupes dans le voisinage ; tous les habitans sont unis, et les comtés Tyrone, Fermanagh, et Monaghan, sont au nombre des meilleurs. Le dernier a éprouvé de très longues persecutions. Si les forces principales étoient debarquées à Killybegs, il faudroit envoyer environ 1400 hommes à Sligo, qui n'est gardé que par un petit nombre de troupes.

Le pays depuis là jusqu'à Lough Allen et Carrick-on-Shannon, est très bien disposé. Si l'auteur de ce Mémoire accompagnoit l'expédition, ce seroit dans cette dernière partie qu'il préféreroit de descendre. Il y a pris des arrangements avec ses amis tels qu'on pourroit dans deux ou trois jours rassembler jusqu'à 10,000 hommes, et tomber sur Enniskillen ou tel autre place convenable. Le lac, qui ne peut se passer qu'a Enniskillen, a 40 milles de long. Le pays situé derrière est très fertile et très bien disposé. Il offroit la meilleure place pour organiser l'armée Irlandoise du Nord. Beaucoup de troupes Anglaises seront ..... [coupées] et en faisant un pas à la gauche, du côté de Dundalk, on s'assureroit de tout le comté Ulster. Il n'y à rien de plus facile que l'entrée dans Galway, mais la continuation des vents d'ouest rend difficile d'en sortir. La noblesse de ce comté est très aristocrate et les pauvres plus heureux que tous ailleurs. La co-operation ne se décidéroit pas très promptement, mais on n'éprouverait aucune résistance.

Je parle de tout cela avec l'assurance que me donnent mes rapports de famille et mes connoissances estimables. Le système d'union est également dans le Comté Galway et y fait journellement des progrès. Le Comté Roscommon insurgeroit en-

tièrement, ce qui facilitoit les opérations de Galway. Des places designés ci-dessus, celles où nous avons le plus d'armes sont Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, Kildare, le Comté Royal, et la ville de Dublin. Meath est bien organisé, et dans toutes ces places on ne trouve pas moins que 100,000 Irlandois unis et prêts à marcher. Même dans les lieux où le système des Irlandois unis n'est pas entièrement adopté, on peut compter sur la co-opération des classes pauvres et mitoyennes. Leur haine pour le despotisme Anglois et les vexations qu'il en impose de la part de leurs Seigneurs fait que les plus ignorans d'entre eux agissent dans le même sens que les Républicains les plus eclairés ..... Les prêtres Catholiques, qui ont cessé d'être alarmé par les calomnies repandues sur l'irreligion des François, ont adopté les principes du peuple dont ils dependent; ils sont en général bons Républicains : ils ont rendu des grands services en propageant avec un zèle discret le système d'union; et ils ont determiné le peuple à prêter le serment imposé par la force [sans le forcer?] de renoncer en rien à ses principes et à ses projets. En un mot, le pays renferme beaucoup d'hommes propres à former de grandes et de puissantes armées. Il ne manque que les moyens nécessaires pour les mettre sur pied, des armes de toute espèce, des chevaux, de l'argent, et des officiers généraux. La reconnoissance des Irlandois, dont le caractère loyal est bien connu, sera eternelle pour tout ce que la France a fait et promet de faire encore pour eux—leur reconnoissance pour l'intérêt généreux et vif que l'Espagne a bien voulu prendre à leur affaire est également sincère. La nation Irlandoise regarde les dépenses qui ont été faites et celles qui le seront encore comme un prêt qu'elle engage à rembourser.

Nous n'avons aucun changement à faire a ce qui a été déjà dit au sujet des troupes que nous désirons. Nous ajouterons seulement que l'Angleterre a envoyé un nombre considérable de nouvelles troupes, dont une grande partie consiste en cavalerie. Il est à remarquer que la cavalerie qui se trouve dans ce pays monte à environ 6,000 hommes, sans compter les vo-

lontaires. La moitié de ceux-ci sont Irlandois, et se reuniroient certainement à leurs compatriotes, s' il y avoit quelque apparence de succès. D'après cela, nous penserions qu'il faudroit actuellement plus de 5,000 hommes de troupes Françoises si nous ne croyons pas que le nombre doive être porté à 10,000, avec un train considérable d' artillerie volante. Nous aurions besoin d' un état-major nombreux, d' ingenieurs et d'officiers généraux. Nous désirons que l' expédition soit commandée par le Général Hoche, et qu'on lui adjoint les officiers Irlandois que le Gouvernement juge à mériter sa confiance par leur fidèlité et leurs talents. Nous désirons aussi qu'on séparat dans les prisons les matelots Irlandois de leurs camarades Anglois, et qu' après les avoir séparés, on proposat aux premiers d' accompagner l' expédition lorsqu'élle sera prête à passer. Il faudroit que le général publia une proclamation au nom du Gouvernement, dans laquelle il déclareroit que les François viennent en qualité d' allié pour délivrer et non pour conquérir l' Irlande. Cette proclamation devoit aussi engager les Irlandois à procéder de suite a l' établissement d'un Gouvernement national, et on annoncerait l' intention d' agir comme le fit Rochambeau en Amerique. Cette proclamation produiroit un très grand effet.

Il est nécessaire d' accélérer l' expédition autant que possible, car les administrateurs Anglois et Irlandois font tous leurs efforts pour, faire croire à une partie du pays que l' autre est entièrement soumis. Ils y ont réussi en détruisant entièrement les bureaux, les imprimeries, et tout ce qui servoit à la publication de l' Etoile du Nord et en menaçant de renouveller cet outrage si ce Papier reparoissoit encore. Ils incarcerent sous les plus légers prétextes les éditeurs des Papiers qui osent dénoncer leurs abus d'autorité. C'est ce qui est arrivé en dernier lieu à Gilbert, éditeur de l'*Evening Ant.* C'est par ces moyens qu'il parvient à en imposer à une portion du peuple sur les dispositions de l' autre ; et il y a lieu de craindre que beaucoup de patriotes ne perdent

courage en se voyant abandonnés dans le cas où l' expédition ne pourroit se faire sur-le-champ, et en supposant que la République ne voulut pas faire la Paix sans avoir obtenue l' indépendance de l' Irlande.

Ce qui pourroit contribuer efficacement à déjouer les machinations du Governement Anglois seroit de proposer cette indépendance comme une des conditions de la paix à titre d'échange ou d' indemnité. Une proposition aussi authentique ne pourroit être ni cachée ni dégúisée: le courage du peuple se reveilloit et la tyrannie qu'on exerce aujourd'hui en Irlande perdroit son empire. Cette proposition ne causeroit pas au reste une très grande surprise, puisque dans tous les cercles à Dublin, ministériels au autres, il en est déjà question. J' évite à dessein d' entrer dans la discussion de plusieurs des raisons que je pourrois alléguer; véritablement, elles ne peuvent pas avoir echappé à la sagesse du Gouvernement: elles n'ont sûrement pas échappé non plus à Messrs. Thompson [i. e. Lewins] et Smith [i. e. Turner] dont le zèle et les talents sont, nous l' espérons, reconnus par le Gouvernement français comme ils le sont par leurs concitoyens.

Les secours dont nous avons besoin en hommes et en argent devroient, s'il est possible, être envoyés tous à la fois, car la plus grande lutte, et peut-être la seule que nous ayons à soutenir, aura lieu pendant la première semaine, au plus pendant la seconde, et si on nous met en état d'agir simultanément pendant la première terreur de l'ennemi, le combat ne sera pas d'une longue durée. Je n'ai jamais entendu évaluer au-dessus de 25,000 hommes le total des troupes Anglais et Ecossais qui se trouvent dans l'Irlande, sur l'opposition des quelles il faudroit compter. De ce nombre 12 régiments sont arrivés en dernier lieu, et il peuvent être arrivés d' autres. Nous avons appris que 10,000 hommes sont prêts en Angleterre á s'embarquer pour l'Irlande, en cas d'invasion, un nombre égal de ceux qui se trouvent dans cette Isle a l'ordre d'être prêts à se rembarquer une heure après en avoir reçu l'avertissement.

Je n'ai pas besoin de dire ce qu'annoncent les Mémoires. La Milice d'Irlande se monte à 18 a 20,000 hommes, les plus beaux et les plus disciplinés de l'armée Britannique. On pourroit compter sur eux s'ils avoient un point de ralliement. Les Volontaires sont presque tous à cheval et bien montés. Nous sommes certains que la majorité d'entre eux seroit pour nous, et qu'il n'y aurait contre nous que quelques corps du Nord, qui sont du parti d'Orange. Le total des Volontaires peut se monter à 20,000 hommes. Voilà une esquisse de la situation de nos affaires. Je pourrais y ajouter tous les détails qui me sont mandé sur ce qui s'est passé jusqu'à l'époque du 27 Juin; mais je ne suis pas venu pour empiéter sur la mission de Mr. Thompson, [Lewins] qui est notre Plenipotentiaire: mes instructions portent, au contraire, de confirmer cette mission et d'engager le gouvernement à considerer Mr. Thompson comme notre ministre accrédité.

NB. L'artillérie Irlandaise est considerable, mais elle consiste presque entièrement de ceux qui nous sont dévoué. Il a dû arriver dernièrement en Irlande un transport d'artillérie Anglaise.

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Translation of a Memorial relative to a Landing in Ireland.

The appearance of the French in Bantry Bay has encouraged the least energetic Irishmen, and caused them to conceive hopes of shaking off the yoke of England. The event has proved how false was the idea that Ireland could not be invaded but by means of a superior fleet: but the place for landing has been so vaguely specified, that we cannot help attributing the entry of the fleet into Bantry Bay to the necessity of seeking a refuge from the tempest. If a new expedition were equipped with the design of taking Cork, we shall point out Oyster Haven. I shall not insist upon the advantages which that place of disembarkation presents, because they will be detailed by Mr. Thompson (*i.e.* Lewins), our plenipotentiary. I shall merely say that, since his departure, some works have been thrown up in the environs of Bantry; that there is a position at Fermoy, and another on the Mallow road. According to military men, a small force may there withstand one far more considerable. On

the other hand, the system of the United Irishmen has made great progress in the county of Cork. Bandon is become another Belfast. The system is very well established in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, particularly in the city of Limerick; but, in all these parts, the inhabitants are totally destitute of arms, and would not be able to act till after the French had obtained some successes. We make ourselves responsible for the co-operation of no other places than those which we mention as being capable of it. We repeat that it is on the north and north-west coast of the province of Ulster that there are 150,000 United Irishmen organized and enrolled; a great part is regimented—one-third—and all bestir themselves there with activity.

Carrickfergus would be a bad place for landing; the sea between that place and Scotland is very narrow, and the navigation of it not very safe in north-west winds. The castle of Carrickfergus has a garrison, though it is not very strong. Belfast has also a garrison of about 2000 men. In the camp of Blasis, [?] which is strong and well situated, there are likewise 2000 men. Between Hilsborough, Lisburn, Duncannon, Charlemont, Armagh, and Newry, there may be about twice as many troops as at Blasis, so that the enemy, if he were forced to retire, would concentrate his forces as he fell back upon the capital. It is one of those districts in which the people are most closely watched by the military, composed for the greater part of English and Scotch: indeed, they change the garrisons very frequently; but the English Government has always had the prudence to keep a considerable number of foreign troops in the North.

The entrance of Lough Foyle is difficult, and the inhabitants of the North say that its harbour is not good, though the country which surrounds it is in the best state. Lough Swilly is one of the best ports in the island, and the dispositions of the inhabitants are excellent.

If a landing were effected to the east, the little tract between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle would rise *en masse*. It abounds in horses and cattle; but there is a garrison at Derry of about 1500 to 1800 men, who might dispute the narrow passage to the town. For the rest, the French might perhaps still find there the Tipperary regiment, 700 strong, and devoted to its country.

If the landing took place in the south, the march would be more difficult, and longer; but still the troops would traverse a friendly country, the population of which would be eager to join the French army. Killybegs would likewise be an excellent place for landing: there are no troops in the vicinity; all the inhabitants are United; and the counties of

Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Monaghan are some of the best. The latter has suffered very long persecutions. If the bulk of the forces were landed at Killybegs, about 1400 men ought to be sent to Sligo, which is guarded by a very small number of troops. The country thence to Lough Allen and Carrick-on-Shannon is very well disposed. If the author of this Memorial accompanies the expedition, it would be in this last-mentioned quarter that he should prefer landing. He has made arrangements with his friends there, who, in three days, could assemble so many as 10,000 men, and fall upon Enniskillen or any other considerable place. The lake, which cannot be crossed but at Enniskillen, is 40 miles in length. The country situated behind it is very strong and very well disposed. It would offer the best place for organizing the Irish army of the North. Many English troops will be .....[cut off?]; and, by taking a step to the left, towards Dundalk, we should secure the whole county Ulster.

There is nothing easier than to enter Galway, but the continuance of westerly winds renders it difficult to get out. The nobility of this country are very aristocratic, and the poor are better off than anywhere else. Co-operation would not be very speedily decided on, but at least we should not meet with any resistance.

I speak of all this with the assurance imparted by family connexions and my estimable acquaintance. The system of Union is diffused throughout the County of Galway, and daily making progress there. The County of Roscommon would rise entirely, which would facilitate the operations of Galway. Of the places mentioned above, those in which we have most arms are Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, Kildare, King's County, and the City of Dublin: Meath is well organized; and in all these places there are not fewer than 100,000 United Irishmen, and ready to march. Even in the places where the system of the United Irishmen is not entirely adopted, we can reckon upon the co-operation of the poor and middling classes. Their hatred of English despotism, and the vexations which they have to endure on the part of their lords, cause the most ignorant of them to act in the same spirit as the most enlightened Republicans ..... The Catholic priests, who have ceased to be alarmed by the calumnies circulated respecting the irreligion of the French, have adopted the principles of the people on whom they are dependent; they are in general good Republicans: they have rendered great services by propagating with a discreet zeal the system of Union; and they have induced the people to take the oath proposed, without forcing them to renounce any part whatever of their principles and their plans. In

short, the country contains abundance of men fit to form great and mighty armies. It wants nothing but the means necessary for setting them on foot—arms of all kinds, horses, money, and general officers. The gratitude of the Irish, whose character for integrity is well known, will be eternal for all that France has done and promises yet to do for them. Their gratitude for the generous and deep interest which Spain has kindly taken in their affair is equally sincere. The Irish nation considers the sums that have been and will yet be advanced as a loan, which it engages to repay.

We have no change to make in what has been already said on the subject of the troops that we wish for. We will merely add that England has sent a considerable number of fresh troops, a great part of which consists of cavalry. It is to be remarked, that the cavalry at present in this country amounts to about 6000 men, without reckoning the volunteers. Half of these last are Irish, and they would to a certainty join their countrymen if there were any appearance of success. From all this we should think that we want at this moment 5000 French troops, if we were not of opinion that the number ought to be 10,000, with a considerable train of flying artillery. We shall need a numerous staff, engineers, and general officers. We wish that the expedition should be commanded by General Hoche, and that such Irish officers may be appointed to serve under him as the Government deems deserving of its confidence by their fidelity and their talents. We wish also, that in the prisons the Irish seamen should be separated from their English comrades, and that after their separation a proposal should be made to the former to accompany the expedition, when it shall be ready to sail. The General should publish a Proclamation, in the name of the Government, in which he should declare that the French came in the quality of allies, to deliver, and not to conquer Ireland. This Proclamation ought also to exhort the Irish to proceed immediately to the establishment of a national government, and to announce the intention of acting as Rochambeau did in America. This Proclamation would produce a very great effect.

It is necessary to accelerate the expedition as much as possible, for the English and Irish administrators use their utmost efforts to induce a belief in one part of the country that the other is perfectly quiet. They have succeeded in this by entirely destroying the office, presses, and everything employed in the publication of the "Northern Star,"[1] and

[1] The "Northern Star" was a newspaper set up expressly as an organ of sedition in Belfast in 1792. Samuel Neilson, bookseller, of that town, a

by threatening to repeat this outrage in case that paper should appear any more. They imprison upon slight pretexts the publishers of the papers which dare to denounce their abuses of authority. This is what very recently befel Gilbert, the publisher of the " Evening Ant" [?] It is by such means that they contrive to deceive one portion of the people, respecting the dispositions of the other; and there is reason to fear that many patriots will be discouraged, and consider themselves as abandoned if the expedition cannot take place immediately, snpposing that the Republic would not make peace without having obtained the independence of Ireland.

It might contribute efficaciously to thwart the machinations of the English Government to propose this independence as one of the conditions of peace by way of exchange or indemnity. So authentic a proposal could not be either concealed or disguised. The courage of the people would be roused, and the tyranny now exercised in Ireland would lose its empire. For the rest, this proposal would not cause any very great surprise, for, in all Dublin, it is already talked of in all the ministerial and other circles. I purposely avoid entering into the discussion of several of the reasons that I might adduce; indeed, they cannot have escaped the wisdom of the Government any more than Messrs. Thompson [Lewins] and Smith [Turner], whose zeal and talents are, we hope, acknowledged by the French Government as they are by their fellow-citizens.

The succours in men and money that we stand in need of ought, if possible, to be sent us all at once; for the grand struggle, perhaps the only one that we shall have to sustain, will take place during the first week, at furthest, during the second; and, if we are enabled to act simultaneously during the first terror of the enemy, the conflict will not be of long duration. The total of the English and Scotch troops that are in Ireland, on whose opposition we must reckon, I have never heard estimated at more than 25,000 men. Of this number twelve regiments arrived very lately, and it is possible that others may have arrived. We have learned that 10,000 men are ready in England to embark for Ireland in case of invasion. An equal number to that which is in the island have orders to be ready to embark at an hour's notice.

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zealous co-operator in the United Irish treason, was the principal proprietor and editor. After involving the printer and proprietors in several prosecutions, and subjecting them in one case to imprisonment for above a year and a half in Dublin, it was finally suppressed in January, 1797.

I have no need to say what is stated in the Memorials. The militia of Ireland amounts to 18 or 20,000 men, the finest and best disciplined of the British army. We might reckon upon them, if they had a rallying point. The volunteers are almost all horse, and well mounted. We are certain that the majority of them would be for us, and that none would be against us but a few corps from the North, belonging to the Orange party. The total of the volunteers may amount to 20,000 men. This is a sketch of the state of our affairs. I could add all the details sent to me of what has passed up to the date of the 27th of June; but I am not come to encroach upon the mission of Mr. Thompson [Lewins], who is our plenipotentiary: my instructions on the contrary direct me to confirm that mission, and to induce the Government to consider Mr. Thompson as our accredited minister.

The Irish artillery is considerable, but it consists almost entirely of men who are devoted to us. A detachment of English artillery was to have arrived lately in Ireland.

Secret Information from Hamburg.

August 16.

Napper Tandy having quarrelled with Lewins, and Tone called a meeting of United Irishmen in conjunction with Muir, Madget, and Stone. At the meeting a division took place; the numbers pretty equal. Muir waited on Talleyrand with a petition, which Talleyrand took instantly to the Directory. In consequence, Tandy was appointed General: those that sided with him compose his staff, viz.: M'Mahon, Coigley's companion, to be a Colonel and Aide-de-camp; O'Finn Carey, brother to the priest, Waldron, and Pharis, with one Lyster, and two or three others, Irish-Americans. A Captain Blackwell is appointed his Adjutant-General. They all left Paris on Tuesday, 11th July, to go (as I believe) to Dunkirk. Mrs. Blackwell told me they were to go in a small corsaire, with only 40 or 50 men. Madget said they were to have 1500. O'Finn's wife left Paris the day before, to go to England. Government gave them money, &c.

Teeling, with a brother of Tone's, and one Sullivan, nephew to Madget, set out for Rochfort on Saturday, 21st. General

Humbert, who commanded in La Vendée under Hoche, is to command, and went at the same time with a great number of French officers. Sullivan, having sided with Tandy, is appointed a Captain and Secretary to Humbert.

Two or three days after, a large party of French officers set out for Brest. Tone, Hamilton, M'Cann, an Irish-American, and two brothers Corbett, call themselves Cowan, expelled Dublin College, are from Cork, came by way of Drontheim, are of that party. Lowry, M'Cann, Burgess, Murphy, went off to the coast towards Dunkirk, the 28th. Lowry's passport was for Boulogne, but he expected to be sent from thence to somewhere else. Joe Orr, of Derry, and Delany of the Irish College, were to follow the day after by the same route. Lewins remains at Paris, styling himself Ambassador. He waited at the Hague for Ormby, who brought over a state of the nation, drawn by Richard M'Cormick, who is expected at Paris.

It is said the Brest fleet is much more numerous than it appears, and that it is determined to risk an engagement with the English. Those who are gone to Dunkirk and that coast expect to go in small privateers and cutters, and to go north about.

Landed the 15th of July at Helvoetsluys. In the mouth of the river was a new frigate, 36 or 40 guns, ready for sea. In the three basins are three two-deckers, totally dismantled; at Rotterdam are 4 two-deckers on the stocks, two of them covered to the lower ports; at Flushing a 64 on the stocks. Obliged to come from Paris by way of Lisle, Bruges, Flushing, &c., for fear of being arrested, having only the old passport not renewed. The Canal is, I understand, rendered completely innavigable to the sea at Ostend. At Flushing there are a great many French soldiers, to the amount of twenty-five hundred: there are, I understand, as many Dutch.

A General Creevey, a young man who goes with the great expedition, called on me one day at Paris, and stayed dinner. Muir and Madget were of the party. It was for the purpose

of inquiring into Tone's character, which we gave him. Madget and Muir swore me into the Secret Committee for managing the affairs of Ireland and Scotland in Tandy's place: there are only we three of the Committee. A young man, of the name of Thomas Graham, same place as Muir and Smith, arrived at Paris the day before I left: he sailed from Scotland for Embden, was taken by a French privateer, and brought into Holland. He was coming to France at the time: he was obliged to stay five or six weeks at the Hague with O'Herne before he could get a passport; for his letter to Muir had been suppressed through the contrivance of Lewins, who strives to prevent any person doing anything with Government but himself. The French gave orders for 20,000 muskets at Hamburg.

On arriving at Helvoet, I was taken on board the vice-admiral. Producing my passport, he ordered an officer to set me on shore, as he supposed I wished to go to the Hague, where I got next morning before breakfast; found O'Herne with General Joubert, introduced and stayed two hours; was asked if I thought it possible the Irish could hold out, *i. e.* keep fighting till September, for nothing could be got ready from Holland sooner, and that Daendels was very anxious on the business. I gave them the last five "Couriers" (which you told me I might bring with me). Waiting to get them back kept me forty-eight hours at the Hague. They had a map of Ireland, as old as King William, on which they were trying to find out the safest places for debarkations. The west coast seemed to be the most eligible, from Derry up to Galway. They told me they supposed France had sent off some corsairs with muskets and amnunition.

Left Paris 30th. One Keith, a Scotchman, got leave to go over to England by Muir's means. He is a banker at Paris, I believe; he had his passport the day before I came away.

Duckett is, I fancy, at Hamburg: he has denounced Stone at Paris as a traitor. I hear he has got money from the Government, for the purpose of renewing the mutiny in the Eng-

lish fleet. There never was a set of people more perplexed and embarrassed than the French Government.

PS. I mentioned that the French fleet is more numerous than it appears, viz. :—In Brest road that there are only twelve or fourteen ships of the line, when in reality there are from eighteen to twenty; some say more. Madget had got liberty to choose out Irishmen from among all the prisoners. Cordage, tackle, &c., are come and coming from Toulon. Lewins had the sending out of all his friends: they all go as privates, as they would not accept commissions from France. Orr, who accompanied Murphy, was still at Paris, did not seem to like going. Three expeditions are to go from France, viz.: Rochefort, consisting of frigates; the grand expedition from Brest, and privateers from Dunkirk and that coast. There is to be one from Holland, but that, I think, will be for Scotland, where Graham says there are 200,000 now arming themselves. They talk of one from Spain, but England is not thought of.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Secret. Dublin Castle, August 17, 1798.

Sir—I have endeavoured to obey your commands in examining Mr. O'Connor as to the object of his journey to Switzerland with Lord Edward Fitzgerald. At first, he declined answering to this point, considering himself as only bound to state the facts which came to his knowledge after he became a United Irishman, of which body he was not then a member. Upon being pressed, without mentioning names, he stated it thus:—In the summer of 1796, as set forth in the Memoir, an agent was sent to arrange with the Directory the plan of invasion. This person proceeded to Hamburg; from thence, accompanied by his friend, to Switzerland; neither went to Paris; but the person employed had an interview near the French frontier with a person high in the confidence of the Directory; upon a communication with whom everything was settled. The reason neither proceeded to Paris was lest the English Govern-

ment, in whose pay most of the officers in Paris were supposed to be, should suspect the design, and arrest the persons on their return. This perfectly agrees with Richardson's information, which states that Lord Edward and O'Connor met Hoche, and arranged the invasion. R. states that O'Connor went into France; if he did, it was only a short distance, merely to meet Hoche; and, from what O'Connor said, Lord E. seemed to be the *principal.* He admitted having seen Barthelemy and several French officers, but declined naming them, neither would he state how the passports were obtained. This examination took place before the Secret Committee.

Should I succeed in drawing from him any further information on this point, I shall have great pleasure in transmitting it. He further stated that, when taken in Kent, although he had not authorized any person to hire a vessel direct for France, but rather looked to reach a Dutch port, yet his real object was to pass through Switzerland into France, and fairly confessed that, had he reached Paris, he should not have been idle, as, though not charged with any special commission, he did believe the Directory would have considered him as an accredited agent.

We have endeavoured to draw from the State prisoners the names of the foreign agents, that their treachery might stand the more openly disclosed to the enemy, but to no purpose; perhaps they may be obtained in private.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, August 20, 1798.

Sir—I have the honour to transmit, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, a rough copy of the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, for the Duke of Portland's inspection, together with the evidence of the State prisoners as taken before the Lords. The Report may possibly yet undergo some alterations; his Grace will, therefore, receive it as an early

though perhaps not altogether a perfect sketch of what may be submitted to Parliament.

In the Report of the former year, the object in view was to establish the fact of the treason, and, by concluding the public conviction on that point, to strengthen Government in the adoption of those measures which necessarily were had recourse to. On the present occasion, the object has not been so much to enable Government to act as to justify past proceedings; with this view, the Committee felt it necessary to state the progress of the treason, and the successive efforts to counteract it with reference to each other; and, in their statement, they have not so much aimed at giving a minute detail of facts, as giving such a minute arrangement to all the prominent circumstances of the conspiracy as will enable the public to peruse the documents given in the appendix, with some reference to the succession of events.

The Lords will delay their Report for a few days, which will afford them an opportunity of attending to the impression produced by the statement of the Commons, and of giving it the aid of any additional facts that may have appeared in evidence before their Lordships.

I have been favoured with your letter of the 13th, enclosing a secret note, without date, from Paris, also one of the 14th, with enclosures most secret from Hamburg and Rastadt. These Papers, having been perused by the Lord-Lieutenant, I shall strictly attend to your suggestions in respect to the latter. I have not been able to trace it to any immediate expectation of French assistance, but there has been a perceptible stir amongst the people in the North for some days, and an appearance of disturbance has shown itself in Kerry, which had hitherto been perfectly quiet; but neither circumstance is considered as alarming.

Letter of 13th, enclosing information of the Brest fleet, has also been received. The Lord-Lieutenant is gradually strengthening the South and West. Thanks for intelligence from Dresden.

The case against Lord Edward Fitzgerald was gone into last Saturday, and his guilt most strongly established. The Counsel pressed very much for time, alleging they could not be prepared on the sudden to encounter the documentary evidence. There was every disposition to resist delay, but the Attorney-General thought that, having no defence, in fact, to make, it would be unwise to give them a grievance: he, therefore, acquiesced in their adjourning till Monday. Reynolds's testimony is strengthened by every cross-examination.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, August 22, 1798.

My Lord—I had the honour to receive, on the 18th instant, your Lordship's letter of the 14th, containing the observations which the Lord-Lieutenant had been pleased to make on the Bill of Pardon, in answer to those which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship, by direction of the Duke of Portland, in mine of the 9th. I now return the Bill, signed by his Majesty, and am directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that your Lordship would be pleased to inform the Lord-Lieutenant that the Bill, in all its parts, has been attentively examined and reduced to its present shape, at a meeting of his Majesty's confidential servants, when all his Excellency's observations were taken into the most serious consideration.

Your Lordship will observe that the clause excepting from the benefit of the pardon persons who are, or who have been, in custody since January, 1798, is altered according to the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland contained in your Lordship's letter. The force of his Lordship's observation on the subject of the exception in the last clause was felt by every body; but, upon the whole, it was thought better by his Majesty's law servants here that no exceptions at all should be made from the power *expressly* given in the Bill to his Majesty to pardon on *condition*, on the principle that any such exception was in itself unnecessary. The Duke of Portland

and his Majesty's law servants here agree also entirely with his Lordship on the necessity of an Act of Indemnity to protect individuals against personal actions, and the clause inflicting a penalty on persons violating the conditions of their pardon has been struck out on your Lordship's suggestion, and for the reasons you state.

But I am directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that your Lordship would be pleased to inform his Excellency that it is the unanimous opinion of his Majesty's confidential servants that, in the Bill now before Parliament, making it felony for any of the individuals *pardoned on condition* to violate the condition of their pardon, a clause should be inserted making it felony to correspond with the banished persons, *except by virtue of a license, under the hand of the Lord-Lieutenant or one of the Secretaries of State*, which license, it is observed, will do away with any objection that can be made on account of the hardship of these persons being precluded from corresponding with their friends and relations.

His Grace directs me to add that no measure but this can preclude an Executive Committee from sitting at Hamburg, and receiving Provincial, County, and Baronial Reports as regularly as has been done at Dublin. It is also suggested by his Grace that the persons excepted from pardon should be summoned by Act of Parliament to surrender, and, in default of surrendering, that they should be attainted, and that it should be made felony also to correspond with them.

A warrant has been granted to transfer both M'Gucky and Dowdall to Ireland, it being thought more expedient on every account that the latter should be discharged in Dublin than at Liverpool.

I am further directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that your Lordship would inform his Excellency that it is the particular wish of all his Majesty's confidential servants, *if the thing can possibly be done without serious inconvenience*, that the drafts of all such bills as are intended to follow or accom-

pany the Act of Pardon as being in any way connected with it, may be sent over to be considered by his Majesty's law servants here before they are brought into Parliament. As similar Bills must in almost every case be brought into the Parliament of this country, as soon as it shall meet, it is considered most material that they should be carefully considered and examined with a reference to both countries before they pass into a law in either.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS.—The names of the Reverend Mr. Warnick and the Reverend Mr. Adair being still imperfectly described in the note which your Lordship has transmitted to me, it has been thought advisable that their names should be omitted altogether. W. W.

Mr. Wickham to Edward Cooke, Esq.[1]

Private. Whitehall, August 22nd, 1798.

Dear Sir—I have to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of the 14th, containing some observations on the Bill

[1] Edward Cooke, whose name has several times appeared in the preceding pages, and will very frequently occur in the course of this Correspondence, was one of the ablest and most efficient of Lord Castlereagh's assistants in his official career. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, of which his father, the Rev. Dr. Cooke, Dean of Ely, was Provost. About the year 1778, he accompanied Sir Richard Heron, Chief Secretary to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to that country, in quality of his private Secretary; in 1789 was appointed Secretary for the Military Department, and obtained a seat in the Irish Parliament. From this post he was removed by Earl Fitzwilliam, whose successor, Earl Camden, gave him the office of Secretary for the Civil Department, which he held till the Union between the two countries. The reasons assigned by Mr. Cooke, in one of his numerous letters to Lord Castlereagh, for resigning that situation, furnish the most honourable evidence of the consistency of his principles and the integrity of his character: and, in the high official situa-

of Pardon. I will not enter into any discussion of the points to which they relate, as anything of the kind would be now quite useless. I trust that the Bill, in its present shape, will be found sufficient to answer every purpose. It has been thoroughly considered by the law officers here, and the difference between their opinion and that of the Lord Chancellor does not seem to be very material on any leading point.

The accounts from the Mediterranean are still very contradictory. I suffered the moment of the post to pass by without writing either to Lord Castlereagh or yourself the substance of the intelligence received by a messenger from Constantinople; so that you will learn it first from the newspaper, where of course it is given very incorrectly. The captain of the Port of Alexandria had escaped from that place at the moment that it was attacked by the French, somewhere about the 7th of July. He says that the French had a large force both in line-of-battle ships and transports, and, what is most extraordinary, that the English fleet had been there two days before. The Turks were most indignant at this unprovoked, and, as they call it, unexpected, attack, and war was expected to be declared in form against the French at Constantinople, the day after the messenger left that place (the 23rd July).

In the mean time, the reports of an action near Candia are in some measure confirmed by the mail arrived to-day. There is in particular a letter from the British Consul at Venice, of

tions subsequently filled by Lord Castlereagh, as a member of the British cabinet, he had again the advantage of securing the zealous and valuable services of Mr. Cooke.

From a personal knowledge, during a long series of years, of this gentleman, while acting as Under-secretary of State to Lord Castlereagh in the War and Colonial Department, the Editor of this Correspondence cannot refrain from here recording the veneration, respect, and affection which he entertained for him. W. Hamilton, Esq., one of the most able, official, public servants that ever accepted office under the Crown, was also of great assistance to Lord Castlereagh in his arduous career; he was his Under-Secretary of State, for many years, in the Foreign Office.

the 3rd instant, that speaks of such an event having happened with some degree of positiveness.

No further accounts have been received of the frigates that sailed lately from Rochefort. There is a frigate ready to sail from Dunkirk, no doubt with the persons of whom you have lately received information. A part of the Brest fleet seems desirous to put to sea.

I am, with the truest regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 23rd, 1798.

My Lord—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 17th, marked secret, containing the substance of the examination of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, on the subject of his journey to Switzerland, which, though not quite so full as might have been wished, is yet extremely important, as it established the fact of a more early communication with the French than had been generally supposed, and leaves no doubt about the invasion of General Hoche having been solicited by traitors from Ireland.

There is no doubt that a *private* communication of the names of the persons with whom Mr. O'Connor and his friends have corresponded abroad would answer the *particular purpose* required by the Duke of Portland, as it was explained in my letter to your Lordship of the 18th instant; but his Grace particularly desires me to say, that any information, in whatever manner it can be obtained, that in any way relates to this very dangerous connexion, must always be considered as highly useful and important, and that it is his particular desire that no pains may be spared in collecting every fact that may tend to throw any light on the subject.

I would most willingly mention to your Lordship any points to which I should consider it important that the prisoners should be examined in private; but there are none, it occurs

to me at this moment, that have not been very well considered by your Lordship.

It will certainly not escape your Lordship that the nature and extent of Mr. O'Connor's connection in this country should, if possible, be accurately known. It is difficult to believe that some *few* of his friends here should not have known the real object of one, if not of both, his journeys, and it would be a great satisfaction to the Government here to have that line very distinctly drawn.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 22nd, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, for the information of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, according to the directions I have received from the Duke of Portland, an extract of a letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville, received by the mail that arrived yesterday.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville.

Hamburg, August 11, 1798.

William Greet, of Dublin, left this place lately for Paris; there is no doubt of the treasonable nature of his mission. He returned lately from Amsterdam, where he had been on business of the like nature. He was known to say, whilst here, that a French engineer officer, of the name of Blin, would shortly arrive here on his way to Ireland. He is fifty years of age, five feet five inches high, (French measure) rather corpulent, fresh-coloured, round face, scarcely any eyebrows: he wears a very fair round curled wig, a blue coat, and red collar. He speaks French badly.

Burnes, or Barnes, an Englishman, commanding a Hamburg ship, bound to Calcutta, sails about the 14th of this

month: he has several French passengers on board. Barnes is about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, five feet three inches high, brown complexion, oval face, generally dressed in grey or blue. I have just learnt this: they could not tell me the name of Burnes' ship, and I fear I shall not learn it in time for this post.

N. B. This is the man of the name of Barr, or Bare, of whom information has already been given: it is supposed that he means to go North about, and put either arms or men ashore in some part of the North of Ireland. W. W.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 23, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, the copy of a letter from Mr. Nepean[1] of yesterday's date, enclosing some intelligence relating to the destination of the frigates that have lately left Rochefort, of which your Lordship has been informed.

I am, at the same time, to inform your Lordship that, by the latest intelligence received from Dunkirk, there are now three frigates in that port ready to put to sea, and that Napper Tandy and several other Irishmen are there ready to embark.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

William Wickham.

Admiralty Office, August 21, 1798.

Sir—I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of the Duke of Portland, the enclosed copy of intelligence obtained from the officers and the banished priests on board the French national corvette La Vaillante, captured by H. M. S. Indefatigable.

I am, &c.,

Evan Nepean.

[1] Secretary of the Admiralty.

Information obtained by Sir Edward Pellew, Bart., Commander of His Majesty's Ship Indefatigable, between the 29th July and 8th August, 1798.

August 8th. The officers of La Vaillante corvette, captured this day, examined separately, report that they left Rochefort 1st August, and passed in the road of Aix La Concorde, La Medée, La Franchise, frigates, and La Bayonnoise, corvette, the latter having on board 125 banished priests and convicts. On the 4th they sailed from Isle de Rhé, where they embarked their prisoners, through the Pertuis Breton, and were told the above from ships sailed; also that day through Pertuis d' Antioche, and saw four sail ahead of them at sea, on the evening of the chase (the 7th) which they supposed to be the same squadron. They knew nothing of the three frigates, but by report; one of which sailed to Ireland with small arms, the other to Guadaloupe: they had on board 1500 troops. Strong reports also prevailed that two ships of the line and three frigates at Brest were embarking artillery and small arms for Ireland.

EDWARD PELLEW.

(Copy) Signed A. GARDNER.

The Rev. J. A. Hamilton to Lord Cornwallis.

Armagh, August 24, 1798.

May it please your Excellency—Impressed as I am with a full confidence of your Excellency's abilities, talents, and public spirit, I feel no apology necessary for approaching you on a subject of business, intimately connected with your supposed beneficent intentions with regard to this kingdom and the duties of your high station. As one of the executors of that truly wise man and enlightened prelate, the late Primate Robinson, I humbly request to inform you that that great character thought nothing would tend so much to conciliate

and soften down the minds of our various sectaries in the north of Ireland, and bind them to the common interests of the empire, as the foundation of a "Second University in the Province of Ulster." His own munificent labours at Armagh have pointed out that place for the seat of this University, inasmuch as a College or seminary of education already flourishes under an eminent gentleman at Armagh. We have a great endowed public Library, and also a well-endowed Observatory and Museum for Astronomy and Natural Philosophy, at which I have the honour to preside. There is also £1000 bequeathed for a Chapel, which would answer for the College, and £5000 to erect the buildings, &c.

In the present anxious state of the public mind, and your Excellency's more urgent and important cares, I should not think of pressing this business forward to your notice, but that I believe those statesmen who should more properly approach you on these subjects are too much engaged with the weighty affairs of the day to be at leisure for the concerns of quieter times; and I am to tell you that, if the body of this University is not incorporated within a little more than one year, the legacy of £5000 will lapse. I therefore only throw these hints out to your Excellency, *ready*, should you at any time require it, to give full information of all local circumstances that might lead to the completion of this great national object. With all possible consideration and respect, &c.,

I am, &c.,

JAMES A. HAMILTON.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Private. Dublin Castle, August 26, 1798.

Sir—I am to communicate, for the Duke of Portland's information, that his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant proceeded by the canal this day to Tullamore, accompanied by a considerable body of troops. Since his Excellency's depar-

ture,[1] letters have been received from Major-General Hutchinson, then at Castlebar, dated the 25th, stating that the enemy had not yet attempted to move forward from Killala; that it did not appear that any considerable body of the inhabitants had joined them; and that, in the course of his march, he had found the people employed at their usual labour, and apparently well-disposed. The Major-General expected, in the course of the 25th and 26th, to have such a force assembled at Castlebar as would enable him to move forward and attack the enemy.

The messenger arrived this morning with the Bill of Pardon and the Despatches with which he was charged. The Bill will be presented to the Lords to-morrow. The clause for preventing correspondence with the *exiled persons* has been introduced into the Bill of Banishment, a copy of which I have received the Lord-Lieutenant's instructions to transmit for the Duke of Portland's consideration. The Bill is now in Committee before the Lords: before it can pass through the Commons, there will be full time for receiving any observations his Grace, upon communication with the King's law-servants in England, may have to make upon the provisions of the Bill. I am authorized by his Excellency to request that the communication may not be delayed, as it is very desirable to expedite the business now before Parliament, so as to discharge the members from their attendance.

The Lord-Lieutenant considers the clause making it a transportable felony for persons banished by sentence of a Court-Martial to return into the kingdom without license, as indispensable to the public safety. If these military tribunals cannot sentence to banishment, either the country must be exposed, after the struggle is over, to have the most dangerous characters turned loose on it, or the sentence must in all cases be capital—an alternative so objectionable as, in his Excel-

[1] Lord Cornwallis left Dublin to assume the command of the troops collected for the purpose of opposing the small French force under General Humbert, which had landed at Killala.

lency's judgment, fully justifies the Legislature in lending its sanction to judgments passed by the only tribunals then existent, and which cannot now be revised without great inconvenience and confusion.

The Bill of Attainder is to be read a third time to-morrow in the Commons: it has been much contested, but the decision has been in two cases perfectly unanimous, and in the third with only five dissentients. I understand the fact of criminality will not be disputed by the parties in the Lords; the principal resistance was made in the case of Mr. Grogan, but, upon full investigation, it appeared that he entered deliberately into the rebellion as the most probable means of saving his property, which makes his attainder, as an example, peculiarly seasonable.

The Bill summoning the fugitives to surrender merely states that the persons named stand charged with treason, and have fled from justice, and attaints them in default of surrender by a day named. I shall, by the next mail, transmit a copy of this Bill, as also of the Bill of Attainder against Lord Edward and others, as amended in the Committee. It was thought necessary to examine evidence at the Bar of the Lords in support of the Act against the fugitives. Some of the persons excepted out of the Bill of General Pardon could not be included from defect of evidence.

You will observe the penalty of attaint is incurred by the persons receiving their pardon on condition of banishment, should they be found at large in England. The crime is as perfect in them from that moment as if they had returned to Ireland, though it can only be inquired of in this country. As the Secretary of State's warrant may always apprehend and transmit them to Ireland, it is to be considered whether any farther provision will be requisite to exclude them from Great Britain.

I have just received a letter from Lord Cavan, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose. I was under the necessity

of forwarding General Hutchinson's to the Lord-Lieutenant so speedily as to be precluded from taking a copy, but have above stated the substance. I have directed several copies of the report to be sent by the messenger. The Lords will report in a few days, when it is proposed that the two Houses should jointly address the Lord-Lieutenant, at the same time laying before him copies of their respective reports, to be submitted to the King.

I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, August 28, 1798.

My Lord—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th instant, containing the account of the landing of the French troops in the Bay of Killala. I have not a doubt that this attempt is intended to be combined with a more powerful one that is to be made in the South, should the equinoctial gales once oblige his Majesty's fleet to abandon its station before Brest; and, as such an event is always possible, though, I trust, hardly probable, it is earnestly to be hoped that the Lord-Lieutenant will be able to crush this force before it be so increased by the assistance that the disaffected in Ireland will be able to furnish it, as to find employment for the flower of the King's troops in the North, whilst a descent shall be effected on their rear by a force with which it may be found far more difficult to cope.

I am sorry to say that the Duke of Portland has fallen from his horse to-day, and, though he received no material injury, yet he is so much bruised as to be obliged to keep his bed. His Grace has, however, insisted with so much earnestness and so much effect on the necessity of sending a reinforcement to Ireland, that his illness has hitherto been attended with no inconvenience to the public service. I am not without a hope that a still larger force may be sent immediately and retained

in Ireland, during a part, at least, of the winter; but of this I dare not say anything at present that may lead to an expectation of the kind, as the matter has been hitherto only slightly mentioned by his Grace to the Commander-in-Chief, and has not yet, I believe, been taken into consideration by his Majesty's Ministers.

The Hamburg papers of to-day speak with great confidence of a victory obtained by Admiral Nelson over Buonaparte; and it appears, by an official account received at Vienna from Constantinople, of the 25th ultimo, that Admiral Nelson was at Alexandria on the 28th of June with his whole fleet; that, on hearing nothing of Buonaparte there, he had sailed to meet him, directing his course towards Candia. This despatch from Constantinople says nothing of the rest of the runaway Turk's story.

I have the honour, &c.

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS. Eleven P.M.—Though I have not yet received a copy of the instructions given to General Knox, yet I consider it of such importance that the Lord-Lieutenant should be informed of the reinforcement that is intended to be sent out, that I will not delay the messenger any longer, and the instructions shall be forwarded to-morrow. I trust that your Lordship will have the goodness to explain this circumstance to his Excellency.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Bayham Abbey, August 31, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—I have delayed writing to you upon a subject interesting to all your friends, but peculiarly so to yourself, from a difficulty I feel in addressing you upon it as clearly and as satisfactorily as I had hoped before this time to have done. I will give you the whole course of the information I have collected, and leave it to your judgment to decide what shall be the conduct you will pursue.

I believe I told you that when I first conversed with Mr. Pitt upon your continuing Secretary (was Mr. Pelham to remain in England), I found a prejudice in his mind, as well as in that of others, against an Irishman occupying that office. The line you have adopted, and the perfect impartiality you have shown, have so much taken off that prejudice in Pitt's mind, that he appeared, when I saw him at Walmer, to have totally overcome those prejudices to which I have alluded, and to wish that the decision was taken by Pelham *not to return*, and to appoint you. He does not appear to have altered his opinion, but I learned from him that Lord Cornwallis had requested his friend General Ross to *sound* Thomas Grenville as to going to Ireland, but he wished very much the decision to be taken, and I am sure would prefer your appointment. So far go my communications with Mr. Pitt.

I endeavoured, while Pelham was here, to bring him to some point. On the first day of his arrival he appeared determined not to return to Ireland, but, on the subsequent day, we conversed on subjects which would be to take place were he in Ireland, and I do not believe he has yet taken his absolute decision.

I have thought it right to state to you *exactly* how this matter stands at present, as the time approaches when some arrangement ought to take place. It is with great caution I shall presume to offer any advice upon this subject, as I know from experience an unexpected retirement from office is a circumstance by no means suited to the feelings of mankind in general. At the same time, my friendship for you will not allow me to conceal from you that I think you should not suffer this arrangement to remain undecided now that the Parliament will soon rise, and that you have borne and carried through all the difficulties of this session. Whether this decision of Mr. Pelham's should be brought about by your writing to him, or by any application to Lord Cornwallis, I cannot venture to advise. I need not, however, say that, if I can be

of any use to you in promoting your views, I am completely at your commands.

I understood from Pitt that he was rather desirous of sending Mr. Grenville to the Continent, and it was upon that account, as well as upon your own, that it was desirable the negociation should no longer be deferred.

I am much obliged to you for your letters respecting the landing of the French. I am of opinion that it will rather be useful than otherwise: it will be considered, if the common people do not join them, as a test of their loyalty, and will therefore prevent future invasion and insurrection. When I say it will be considered as a proof of their loyalty, I do not mean that it would be *justly* so, for I do not really believe their loyalty to be sincere; but the correction their associates have received in the parts of the country which have been in a state of rebellion will prevent their joining the enemy, and they will give an uncordial assistance to our troops, which will be enough for your purpose at present.

Ever yours, CAMDEN.

Notes of Lord Castlereagh's respecting United Irishmen abroad, from letters from Mr. Wickham.

Confidential. Indorsed August, 1798.

Duckett, travelling from Paris through Hanover, arrested by mistake for an Irishman of the name of Keating. Schultz, the Russian minister at Hamburg, interferes.

Supposed to be despatches by the Irish Committee and Jacobin Club—having addresses and declarations.

A man calling himself Gordon, now in Hamburg, who served with the rebels.

Duckett, Junior, is employed in finding out agents. Captain Williams, Despard, Tremlett, a naval officer, Palmer of Barnard's Inn.

A Philosophical Society established at Hamburg. Cole, Holcroft's son-in-law, Hartman, and Myers, principal members.

Lord Castlereagh (apparently) to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Most Secret and Confidential.

My dear Lord—I believe I have adverted to all the points in Mr. Wickham's letters, except

Dillon being a Director, which is, I am sure, a mistake.

O'Hara, a merchant in Dublin of whom I have no trace, though I have knowledge of one O'Hara, in a more obscure line.

The vault in St. Bride's, which is not yet searched.

General Smith,[1] said to be at Liverpool, who commanded at Ballynahinch.

I have written to General Myers as to Jameson.

I have copies of the letters and enclosures.

I could not answer Mr. Wickham's inquiry as to the address published in the Report of the Secret Committee, as I had lent my copy to the Speaker.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, September 1, 1798. 9 P.M.

My Lord—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letters of the 27th by the common post, and those of the 28th and 29th, by the messengers Maryon and Poyle, this morning. I trust your Lordship will find that his Excellency's wishes have been anticipated, that the reinforcements now sending to Ireland are as extensive, and that their embarkation will be made as expeditiously, as could have been hoped for or expected by the most sanguine.

The strength of the Militia regiments has been estimated very low, on the supposition that a company at least of each regiment would decline the service. A large portion of the Devonshire regiment has objected to embark on the ground that there was no intention to employ them, and that they

[1] This was the name assumed by Theobald Wolfe Tone.

were to suffer all the plague and inconvenience of a sea voyage only to show themselves on the coast of Ireland, and return to their old quarters without coming to blows with the enemy.

The despatches arrived to-day, when their contents shall be known, will probably remove all their doubts on that point; and I can almost venture to say, that your Lordship will find that the greater part of the regiment will have embarked with pleasure, when it shall have learned that there is really occasion for their services. The arrival of the four regiments now actually embarked must of course depend on the winds, and therefore nothing can be promised as to the day on which you may expect them at Waterford; but there is every reason to hope, unless very strong westerly winds should set in immediately, that, even in trading it down the Channel, five or six days will be sufficient to carry them to the coast of Ireland.

The Herefordshire and Leicestershire will, I hope, be landed at Runhem Gap on Friday next; and the remaining seven regiments will probably arrive in the same neighbourhood between Friday and Tuesday. Their orders are positive, to proceed from thence directly to Dublin, unless his Excellency should think proper to give any other directions.

I was in hopes that it would have been in my power to have forwarded your Lordship by this messenger the draft of the Bill for confirming the banishment, &c. of the pardoned traitors; but, the Solicitor-General having returned it to-day, with some very important observations, that appear very materially to affect the interests and security of both countries, Mr. Pitt, who felt their force, has taken the draft of the Bill and the Solicitor's letter with him to Holwood, where the Solicitor himself is to meet him to-morrow; and, on Monday, but not before, I shall hope to receive it, when not a moment will be lost in transmitting it to Ireland.

The Duke of Portland, to whom Mr. Pitt has communicated his letter to your Lordship of this day's date, on the subject of the impudent advertisement which Messrs. M'Nevin,

Emmett, and O'Connor have published in some of the Dublin newspapers, desires me to say to your Lordship that he entertains the same sentiments with Mr. Pitt in every point, and that the Lord Chancellor concurs with them most entirely.

The division of the French fleet destined for Ireland attempts almost daily to escape; but, as its efforts have hitherto proved ineffectual, so, I trust, they will remain, as nothing can exceed the vigilance and activity which Lord Bridport has hitherto shown in his endeavours to prevent them.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Right Hon. Wm. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Downing Street, September 1, 1798.

My dear Lord—You will learn by the official despatches of this day the steps which we have taken for sending as expeditiously as possible all the reinforcements we can, in consequence of the account which we received this morning. I think they will be sufficient, even if the enemy is not previously crushed, to answer every purpose.

My chief motive for troubling you now is the desire of suggesting for consideration what occurs to me in consequence of the very indecent and offensive advertisement of O'Connor and the other traitors. I see they have not directly contradicted the Report of the Committee of either House; but only some statement of contents (without saying what), which has appeared in a newspaper. The design, however, under that pretence is evidently to throw a doubt on the Report, and to encourage their former friends at the present crisis.

Government and Parliament have perhaps already taken such measures as this occurrence requires, and, at all events, you will judge much better on the spot whether the idea I wish to suggest can be acted upon with propriety or advantage.

But it seems to me that it might be very desirable to revive the Secret Committee at least of the House of Lords, for the purpose of obliging these persons upon oath, either explicitly to confirm their evidence in the Report, or to contradict it. If they do the first, the object of their advertisement will be wholly defeated; if the second, their statement now must probably be one which can be proved by all the members of the committee to be contrary to what they had before sworn; and if in any material point they attempt to do away the effect of what they had before sworn, they will certainly have broken the agreement, on the faith of which they were assured of pardon, and will leave themselves open to be proceeded against to any extent that may be thought advisable. What ought to be the decision in that respect must depend upon the exact nature of the assurances given them, and upon various circumstances with which I am not enough acquainted. But it seems to me, as far as I am informed, that they will (on the supposition I have stated) have forfeited their only title to forgiveness.

At all events, it seems of the utmost importance that the business should by some mode or other be brought to such a point as not to leave them the double advantage of doing away (in any material degree) the effect of their disclosure, and receiving pardon as the price of it. I must repeat, however, that I suggest this merely for consideration, feeling that I do not know enough to form any decided opinion.

I have troubled you with these loose ideas instead of the Lord-Lieutenant, both on account of his distance from Dublin, and because he must be so much occupied. If you think them worth communicating to the Chancellor, I can have no objection to his seeing this letter; and, of course, (if the occasion is not entirely passed) I should wish it to be sent to the Lord-Lieutenant.[1]

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[1] The conclusion of this letter is wanting.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. Whitehall, September 2, 1798.

My Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed, by the Duke of Portland's directions, extract of a letter which I have received from Dover, confirming a part of the intelligence which I had the honour to transmit to you in my letter of the 23rd ult.; and I am to request that your Lordship will be pleased to communicate the same to the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Custom House, Dover, September 2, 1798.
Eight o'clock, A.M.

Sir—Generals Coote and England are just arrived here from Gravelines, from whom I have received the following information. That the brig Anacreon, about 100 tons burthen, supposed to be the fastest sailer in France, is now ready to sail from Dunkirk for Ireland. She is very deeply laden with cannon and other military stores; and Napper Tandy, now a general officer in the service of Ireland, with several other Irish and French general officers, and a few troops, propose to sail in her. There is also a second brig, laden with military stores, preparing to sail, but she is not to go in company with the Anacreon.

P. NEWPORT.

Mr. Wickham to Edward Cooke, Esq.

Secret. Whitehall, September 4, 1798.

Dear Sir—Having strong reason to believe that a person of the name of Doyle, and another of the name of Kelly, lately arrived from Ireland, are attempting to pass over to France, and that they are charged with a secret commission from the United Irishmen, I will thank you to inform me whether you have any knowledge of any persons of those respective names, who have been in the confidence of the leaders of the Union.

We presume here that the squadron from Brest is either gone to the north or north-west of Ireland. It is by no means improbable that its destination may have been altered in consequence of General Humbert's success at Castlebar, and that the supposed certainty of a safe road and a friendly country on the side of Killala may have induced the Minister of the Marine to abandon his project of a diversion in the South, and concentre all his forces there, where he must have thought that they might be disembarked without danger.

We are all here perfectly mad on the subject of Nelson. Pray tell Lord Castlereagh that, in the sketch I sent his Lordship of the action, I fear I forgot to place the Alexander in her station, and, not having seen Captain Capel since, I cannot exactly say where she was, though I presume she must have been astern of the Majestic.

Believe me, with sincere esteem, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Six, P.M. The French papers, just arrived, announce that the fleet that lately sailed from Brest for the coast of Ireland has returned to that port, having met with a superior force at sea.

General Nugent to Major-General Hewett.

Enniskillen, September 4, 1798.

My dear Hewett—I returned here last night from Sligo, where, I hope, matters are pretty well arranged, considering that Brigadier Taylor never thought proper to communicate with me in any one respect till I pressed him on the subject. The consequence has been that his corps has been very ill subsisted. Commissary Goldrisk is, however, sent from hence to Ballyaghdirreen, to receive General Lake's orders, and will establish himself at Sligo, if thought proper. Sixteen tons of biscuit are gone from hence to Sligo, and more will immediately follow. Spirits can be procured there. Fuel, forage, and

straw, as well as meat, will be furnished by the Commissary, or Commanding Officer, as General Lake shall direct.

I have strengthened the garrison of Sligo (they are nearly 1000 men) as the troops there will have to protect the convoys of provisions. General Lake knows the state of the garrison and ordnance there. The Ordnance Storekeeper, Barrack-Master, and other public officers here, having proceeded previously to Brigadier Champagné's arrival at Enniskillen, with their corps of Yeomanry, to join Brigadier Taylor's command, the service is very much impeded by it, and it will require the Lord-Lieutenant's authority to oblige them to return. Pray manage it.

When I received the first intelligence of the French landing, I wrote to Sir R. Abercrombie, enclosing him your letter on the subject. I send you his answer.

Everything continues perfectly quiet in the North. We shall be able to add to the establishment of the corps of Yeomanry, agreeably to Lord Castlereagh's letter, and that will preclude the necessity of arming corps of Orangemen, which I have discouraged as much as possible, the arms and ammunition not being more than sufficient to render the additional Yeomanry fit for the field. Neither is it wise to arm the Orangemen generally (which must be done, if you once begin) until the last extremity, and that, I trust, is not very near. The Catholics appear to be very loyal throughout the North, and wish also to be armed, but they are informed that they will be afforded protection.

I expect a depot of camp equipage here. Some has been sent to Charlemount, and I shall draw it from thence on its arrival.

I send this by Sligo, with which we have constant communication, and with which you will have also, through General Lake. We are extremely anxious for news from head-quarters, and for the event of the attack which the Lord-Lieutenant meditates on Castlebar, &c. I suspect that the French, for obvious reasons, will endeavour to anticipate it. If they should not, I do not in the least fear or doubt the event. I don't hear that

they landed any of their frigates' guns to mount in their entrenchments. I had information that the Rebels were deserting them.

Yours, my dear Hewett, &c.,

G. NUGENT.

I have circulated Captain Taylor's letter relative to the arrival of the reinforcements from Great Britain. Should the Grants arrive, I will send them from Belfast across the country to Carrick, or make them take up the quarters of the Breadalbane at Enniskillen, and the Argyle at Belturbet, and forward those two corps to the army. I offered the prison ship at Belfast to Sir Ralph to convey the regiment: she is of 300 tons. G. N.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, September 6, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, by letters received to-day at the Admiralty, it appears that Lord Bridport had an opportunity on Monday last, the 3rd instant, to make so accurate a survey of Brest harbour that he could ascertain that no ship whatever had sailed from thence since his last report. As the wind has suddenly gone round to the East this morning, it is much to be apprehended that some of the enemy's ships may slip out, as I am informed that it is impossible, when the change of wind from West to East is sudden, to block up the harbour so closely as that such of the ships as are quite ready to take advantage of the moment may not slip out.

I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that accounts have been received this morning of the capture of the Tribune, a large French frigate of 44 guns, returning from Cayenne, and three stout privateers, all in the Bay of Biscay, and on the coast. The French papers of the 1st instant, arrived to-day, bring no intelligence of any consequence.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS. I send your Lordship the French papers enclosed.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, September 7, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship an extract of a letter which his Grace has received from Messrs. Bowen and Jordan, magistrates at Haverfordwest, respecting the seizure of Mr. Colclough and Mr. M'Cord, with their papers, and I am to desire that your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, and move his Excellency to be pleased to acquaint the Duke of Portland with his wishes as to the disposal of the said papers, and the vessel in which they were found.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a letter from Messrs. Bowen and Jordan to the Duke of Portland.

Haverfordwest, September 4, 1798.

We had the honour of informing you by letter of the 6th of July, from Fishguard, of having taken John Colclough, Esq., into custody, in consequence of an information received from Charles Tottingham, Esq., Mayor of Ross, charging him and his friend, Mr. M'Cord, with treasonable practices in Ireland, and that we had unbent the sails of the vessel they came over in to Fishguard, and secured his packages and papers.

We also informed your Grace, by a letter the following day, that, after conveying of Mr. Colclough to Haverfordwest, we delivered him and his papers, sealed up, to Mr. Silvester, King's messenger, to be conveyed to Ireland, since which we have been repeatedly applied to by Mr. Colclough's friends to deliver up the vessel, &c., which we have deferred doing, not having received any directions from your Grace concerning them, or been favoured with any answer expressing your Grace's approbation or disapprobation of our conduct, which places us in a very unpleasant situation, being sensible we have no authority to detain the vessel or property. We, therefore,

beg your Grace will favour us with an early answer, directing us how we are to proceed.

We are informed the above-mentioned vessel is the property of Mr. M'Cord. The packages and papers now in our custody belong to Mr. Colclough and Mr. M'Cord.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Private. Dublin Castle, September 7th.

My dear Sir—Immediately on receipt of your letter, I had a conversation with the Chancellor on the subject of it. Feeling the weight of your suggestions, he did not hesitate to determine on the revival of the Committee of the Lords, which was accordingly done yesterday. This day, the three State prisoners were brought before it; a minute of whose examination I have the honour to enclose. I understand their conduct was perfectly fair and candid, indicating no disposition to retract any part of the evidence they had given, or to impeach, in any degree, the authenticity of the Report; in fact, the credit of the statement has been strengthened by a proceeding which, I can have no doubt, was meant indirectly to impeach it. They have now by their signatures placed their confession beyond all cavil, and completely done away the mischievous effects of their very indecent and offensive Advertisement.

When it first appeared, the prisoners were remanded to close confinement, and I directed Mr. Marsden[1] to see them on the subject of the publication. The substance of the conversation that passed was communicated to the Duke of Portland, and has of course been sent to you. Feeling the importance of removing every doubt which might have been thrown on the credit of the Report, and satisfied, from the language they held to Mr. Marsden, that they would not venture in any material point to deny their evidence as published, I pressed

[1] Alexander Marsden, under Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant in the Civil Department.

the Chancellor to bring them again before the Committee. He had determined to do so, but was persuaded by several of the other members not to risk their denying or explaining away the evidence they had already given. Accordingly, the Report was made. Fortunately, your letter enabled me to renew the application with effect; and I am confident the short Report which the Lords have made will afford great satisfaction to the well-affected in this country, and give you the full benefit of the disclosure in England.

Some of our warm friends look upon the publication as a breach of privilege, and the feelings of the House were so indignant that it was with difficulty they were restrained from taking a very impotent revenge on grounds which would not have borne them out.

The reinforcements you propose sending are so extensive and are likely to arrive so speedily, that Lord Cornwallis will feel himself in strength to watch the internal mischief, as well as the foreign enemy. In Westmeath, the insurgents are in considerable force; and, from the desertion which has taken place from several of the Militia regiments stationed in Wicklow and Waterford, the men invariably carrying off their arms and ammunition, and joining the Banditti, which have never been altogether driven from that mountainous country, there is reason to apprehend further disturbances in that quarter.

The force that will be disposable when the troops from England arrive, cannot fail to dissipate every alarm; and I consider it peculiarly advantageous that we shall owe our security so entirely to the interposition of Great Britain. I have always been apprehensive of that false confidence which might arise from an impression that security had been obtained by our own exertions. Nothing would tend so much to make the public mind impracticable with a view to that future settlement, without which we can never hope for any permanent tranquillity.

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, September 7, 1798.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, the enclosed declaration of John Jamieson, late Master of the Margaret, of Greenock, who was captured by the Concorde, French frigate, and carried into Killala Bay.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Custom House, Greenock, September 3, 1798.

John Jamieson, late Master of the Margaret, of Greenock, declares that on the 21st of last month he sailed from Sligo, in Ireland, for Pulakenny, to load a cargo of kelp for Liverpool. That, on the morning of the 22nd, he was captured by the French frigate Concorde, of 44 guns, in company with two other frigates of smaller force, full of troops: That all the troops were landed on the morning of that day: That he thinks the total number of troops landed did not exceed 1800 men: That his vessel was filled with military stores, and discharged the same at Killala on the morning of the 23rd: That the declarant was permitted to remain on board his vessel all the time that the French were at Killala, and was allowed to go on shore to the Bishop's house, with a guard: That he was in the town of Killala on Wednesday last, the 29th ult., about two o'clock in the afternoon, by which time the enemy were joined by a great number of the country people, who were immediately clothed in uniform and furnished with arms and ammunition: That he heard that upwards of 3000 of the country people had joined the enemy at Killala: That he was informed by the Frenchmen that they had landed 60,000 stand of arms: That the French frigates left the bay early in the morning of the 24th, with a contrary wind: That, in the afternoon of the 28th ult., a 64-gun ship, three frigates, and a King's cutter came into the bay and burnt the brig and some other vessels lying there, and remained there. Declares that,

when at Killala, on Monday, the 28th ult., he heard that, on the day before, the enemy had defeated General Lake at Castlebar, and that he saw some of the King's troops brought in as prisoners to Killala.

JOHN JAMIESON.
CHARLES OGILVIE, Collector.

Captain Taylor, Private Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant,[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Carrick-on-Shannon, September 7, 1798.

My dear Lord—The troops arrived here early this morning, after a most rapid march from French Park. Upon our arrival, we learned that the enemy had crossed the Shannon at Balintra; that, during his march, he had been joined by very few of the inhabitants; had been deserted by many, and had thrown over the bridges and into the bogs eight of his guns. He has taken the road to Ballimore, and appears to be directing his march upon Cavan. Lieutenant-General Lake is following the enemy, but unfortunately Major-General Moore, who was sent to support General Lake upon the other point, is now, by the turn which the enemy has taken, one day's march in his rear.

It is Lord Cornwallis's intention to keep to the southward of the enemy, for which purpose we march before daybreak to-morrow, towards Mochill, and his Excellency will use every possible exertion to come up with them. The brigade of Guards is ordered to Mullingar, where, and in the neighbourhood, it is hoped its presence will restore peace and good order.

His Excellency has received your Lordship's letter marked private and secret, and the several enclosures, and I have laid before him yours and Mr. Cooke's to me. I enclose a number of Reports received within these two days.

I have the honour, &c.,
H. TAYLOR, Secretary.

The brigade of Guards will move on to the southward, keeping a little in advance of Lord Cornwallis's corps.

[1] Subsequently, as Sir Herbert Taylor, private Secretary to the King.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin, September 9, 1798.

Sir—I have the honour of enclosing to you, for the information of his Grace the Duke of Portland, the copy of a letter I have just received from Captain Taylor. The packet being on the point of sailing, I have not had time to transmit copies of the letters which accompanied Captain Taylor's despatch, but will forward them by the earliest occasion.

Letters from Mullingar state that a decisive advantage was gained yesterday, at Wilson's Hospital, near that town, by a company of yeomen commanded by Lord Longford, supported by a detachment of regular troops. The rebels lost above 150 killed, and were dispersed.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, September 10, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by the Duke of Portland's directions, an extract of a letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville, containing intelligence from Brest, confirming a part of that which I have already transmitted to your Lordship; and I am to desire you will be pleased to communicate the same to my Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

William Wickham.

PS.—From private information received lately, the fact of the intention of the enemy to send a reinforcement to Ireland from Brest seems put beyond a doubt.

Extract of a Letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville.

Hamburg, August 21, 1798.

They write from Brest, that a division of seven frigates and one ship of the line is ready to sail with 3000 men for Ireland, and that a second squadron is preparing.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential. Whitehall, September 10, 1798.

My Lord—I am desired by the Duke of Portland, as well as by Mr. Pelham, to send your Lordship, confidentially, the enclosed extract of a letter, written from Waterford by an officer of the Guards of acknowledged merit, and to mention to your Lordship, that letters to the same effect generally, written in still stronger terms, are daily received from officers of that part of the corps which is now in Ireland.

Your Lordship, who is acquainted with the objections that were originally made to the sending the Guards to Ireland, founded on the dread of the very mischief which these letters point out, will not be surprised that apprehensions should be entertained lest the impression made by this correspondence *in the highest quarter* should be such as to render the return of this corps, perhaps also of some of the finest Militia regiments, a matter of necessity, even before the winter be over.

The Duke of Portland does not write to the Lord-Lieutenant, knowing that his Excellency is well acquainted with the whole nature and extent of the evil; but his Grace thinks that it may perhaps be useful that your Lordship should be enabled, wherever it can be done with safety, to present the subject in this new point of view to any well-disposed persons, who, from whatever motive, might be disposed to oppose those salutary measures, which his Excellency will probably find it necessary to take for the re-establishment of order and discipline in the Irish army.

I am happy to be able to inform your Lordship that the Duke of Portland is so much recovered that he will in all probability be able to leave the house in the course of a very few days.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

William Wickham.

Extract of a Letter from Waterford, dated August 29, 1798.

I have little doubt of the Killala expedition proving a second edition of the Fishguard Bay ;[1] but I dread the indiscipline of the Irish Militia: friends or foes are all the same to them, and they will plunder indiscriminately, advancing or retreating; and, from what I have heard, no effort is made to restrain them. The dread the inhabitants have of the presence of a regiment of militia is not to be told: they shut up their shops, hide whatever they have, and, in short, all confidence is lost wherever they make their appearance.

This place is, in my opinion, as ill-calculated a *séjour* for the Guards, in point of society, as possible; and I am persuaded we shall ere long perceive the bad effects of the intercourse our men necessarily have with the inhabitants. Drunkenness is prevalent beyond anything I ever witnessed before; and I am sorry to say our non-commissioned officers are not clear of this vice. Every other house in the town is a whiskey-shop, and I am convinced when our men cannot pay for liquor they get it for nothing. I am ready to believe that, if we are employed in actual service *at this moment*, our men will do their duty well, and with zeal; but whether there will be the same zeal if we remain here six months longer is another question.

I am rather surprised Government has not fitted up Geneva Barracks for the reception of troops, instead of quartering them in this town. The situation is healthy, at a distance from any town, at the same time near to Waterford to support whatever

[1] The small town of Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire, is remarkable for a most disgraceful attempt made in 1797 by the French Directory to get rid of a gang of convicts and malefactors, by throwing them upon our coast. A small corps composed of such materials was landed near Fishguard; but, terrified by the appearance of a number of women descending from the hills in their red cloaks, and mistaking them for soldiers, these doughty invaders surrendered without resistance, and were immediately re-shipped for their own country.

detachment of troops it might be deemed necessary to leave here, which, being frequently relieved, would not be contaminated by the vices and society of the place. Geneva Barracks are at present appropriated to the reception of prisoners. One word on that subject, and then I have done.

Numbers of vagabonds are daily arriving from all parts of Ireland, under sentence of transportation, or having volunteered transportation to avoid death, or rather to prolong life. I was informed by an officer at Geneva, he had sent off a number of these fellows last spring, and that, to his certain knowledge, half of them had found their way back to this country. Many of these prisoners have their option of serving in the army. The intention was, in the West Indies only; but most of these rascals, it is to be feared, will find their way to Chatham: many of them are uncommon fine fellows, and our regiments will be finally filled with them; if precautions, and the strictest precautions, are not taken on this head, what are we to expect? In my opinion, wherever we send them, we send emissaries. The mode of disposing of them is a dangerous one, and their admission into the navy or army is likely to be attended with consequences equally fatal.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, September 10, 1798.

My dear Lord—The Bar met yesterday at the Four Courts, and adjourned to William Street at one. Saurin moved that a Union was an *innovation*, dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture. He was seconded by Spencer—neither spoke very forcibly. St. George Daly moved an adjournment for a month, and was seconded by Jameson. The cry was against them, but I hear Daly spoke well. The young barristers were vociferous and violent, in clamour and language. Tom Grady and M'Cleland spoke well for the Union. On a division, 162 against adjournment, 32 for it.

Bellew and Lynch, two Catholics, were in the majority; when Grady said the Catholics were for the measure, they denied it, and desired that any opinion should be suspended till a meeting of the Catholics should be held, which was to be this week. I shall know more of this to-morrow. Ponsonby, Curran, Fletcher, Hone, &c., were present, voted in the majority, but did not speak.

A Protest is in agitation: William Smith has been employed in drawing it, whom you thought clearly against. If persons not present could be allowed to sign the Protest, Burton would sign it. I understand the speaking against the measure was bad—all violence—no real argument. Plunkett was cunning, and changed his ground from the violence he had used on a former debate to a tone of moderation, and by that device had good effect. H. Grady was not there, nor Duigenan, nor Osborne, nor many other friends. I think the meeting is gone off as well as could be expected.

I am for the Protest: as the declared opinion of a few respectables, accompanied with weighty reasons, will tell against an unsupported Resolution. Knox says his Derry letters are favourable; Lord Glentworth says Limerick is favourable; and letters from Belfast are in the same tone. But all this language is uncertain.

Ever most truly, &c., E. Cooke.

The Rt. Hon. Thomas Pelham[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Stanmer, September 13, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—I congratulate you most cordially on the most important event that has happened during the

[1] Summoned to the House of Peers as Baron Pelham, 1801, and succeeded his father as second Earl of Chichester, in 1805. He was Chief Secretary to Lord Northington, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1788, and to Lord Camden in 1795. He was subsequently Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Postmaster-General in 1807.

war. I received Elliot's letter yesterday, but had not time to write to you before the post went out. I could not resist the satisfaction of going over to Brighton, and relieving the anxiety which many Irish were suffering in consequence of the news that came by the post of the French having slipped by Lord Cornwallis. I heartily rejoice that Lake had the good fortune to beat the enemy before Lord Cornwallis's column came up, and that the Irish troops distinguished themselves so much.

I am so much out of the way of hearing any news, or of collecting opinions respecting the affairs of Ireland, that I have not troubled you with letters; but I trust you will believe that I have watched all your proceedings with the utmost anxiety; and, as I think nothing more encouraging and satisfactory than the approbation of those whom we know to have an esteem and love for us, allow me to add that I have followed you through all the difficulties and vexations attending your situation with the most sincere satisfaction and pleasure; my vanity in some measure gratified in observing that all I expected and foretold to others respecting you had been so fully accomplished; and having received the satisfaction which a friend alone can feel of hearing persons of different descriptions, both here and in Ireland, speaking with unanimous approbation of your conduct, which I consider a sort of victory and triumph on your part, as you must be aware that there were considerable prejudices both here and in Ireland against the appointment of an Irishman.

I was with Lord Camden at Bayham Abbey for a few days, and had a great deal of conversation with him about Ireland. He had been with Mr. Pitt, and I was glad to find that Irish affairs had engaged so much of their attention. It is certainly a most fortunate thing for both countries to have Lord Camden in the Cabinet, for he knows more of Ireland than any other member of the Cabinet; although he is not the only one who has been Lord-Lieutenant. We discussed, as you may ima-

gine, a subject which I understand you are more friendly to than I am. I confess that I have not considered it sufficiently to be satisfied of the advantages resulting from it, and must therefore be against it, for it is not a thing to attempt without the certainty of some great benefit arising from it. However, I have lately turned my thoughts more to the subject than I had ever done before, and think it more practicable in the detail than I at first imagined; but, before any decision is made, I wish that certain principles should be established, after a full and free discussion among those who are most likely to take the forwardest part in the execution; for, in times of speculation, like the present, there is great danger in any change; and, unless certain principles are laid down as landmarks to which we can always recur, I should much fear a complete wreck of both countries.

I am beginning to read without bringing on headache, and my studies are all to this point; and I only wish that we should have some communication upon the subject. I know full well how difficult it is for you to steal a moment for the sort of meditation this subject requires, and therefore can hardly expect to hear much from you: but, if you will, at any time, send me whatever ideas may occur to you, you may depend upon my secrecy, and I am sure you will receive whatever I may say in the same manner; for it is impossible to form at once a decided opinion upon such a question.

Our want of information respecting Nelson and Buonaparte is most extraordinary. I understand that no official letters have been received from Nelson by the Admiralty: the account of his return to Syracuse is from Sir William Hamilton through Sir Morton Eden. The silence of the French I impute to their expectation of their hearing of some advances towards the Red Sea, as I hear that great preparations are making at the Mauritius of shipping, provisions, &c.

I never was more disappointed at the failure of any expedition: there was every reason to expect success if the fleets had

met, and I think that a hearty co-operation from Russia would have been the consequence of a victory. It is said, however, that both the Porte and Russia have taken the alarm, which may have as great an effect.

I have not written to Lord Cornwallis about Cope, because I did not wish to trouble him while he was so much engaged with the army; but I think that no time should be lost after his return to Dublin in settling something for him; for every one must feel how much the public owes to his exertions. Pray let me know how his case stands.

I beg that you will offer my kindest compliments and respects to Lady Castlereagh, and be assured that I am, with very sincere regard and esteem, my dear Lord Castlereagh,

Yours most affectionately,

T. Pelham.

Remember me kindly to your Brother, if he is still in your neighbourhood.

A Narrative of such verbal and written Communications as have passed between Government and the State Prisoners.

[A copy of this Narrative, together with a copy of each of the two Papers referred to in it, was sent by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Duke of Portland by a messenger September 14th, 1798.]

On the 24th of July, Mr. Dobbs, Barrister, and Mr. Archer, Sheriff of Dublin, called on Lord Castlereagh, and delivered to him the paper marked No. 1, signed by a number of the State Prisoners.

Lord Castlereagh laid the above paper that evening before the Lord-Lieutenant. His Excellency, on the following morning, (the Chancellor being out of town) communicated with Lord Carleton, Lord Kilwarden, the Prime Serjeant and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, upon the subject of it. It was their unanimous opinion that the conditions proposed on

the part of the State Prisoners would not warrant the Crown in extending mercy to Byrne and Bond, then under sentence of death, the former ordered for execution on that day, the latter on the day following.

The principal grounds upon which they relied for the opinion they gave were, that several of the most notorious traitors, particularly the O'Connors and Sampson, had not signed; that there was nothing in the terms of the engagement to prevent the prisoners, if released and permitted to leave the kingdom, from passing into France, and that their offer of giving information did not, to them, appear in point of advantage to counterbalance the discontent which would be occasioned by saving two of the most leading traitors from the punishment due to their crimes. They particularly also relied on the injurious effects such an act of undeserved mercy would have on the administration of criminal justice, by discouraging jurors hereafter from coming forward to discharge an odious duty.

Their reasoning did not altogether satisfy the Lord-Lieutenant. His Excellency, however, felt that he could not do otherwise than abide by the opinion of the first law authorities in the country, thus peremptorily and unanimously stated: accordingly, Byrne was executed on that day.

The following morning, Mr. Dobbs and Mr. Alexander, member for Londonderry, a distant relation of Mr. Bond's, called on Lord Castlereagh. They intimated to him that Arthur O'Connor, Sampson, Hampden, Evans, and several others, who had declined signing the former paper, were now desirous of soliciting the mercy of the Crown, in common with the other prisoners; that they were ready to communicate to Government every information in their power, provided they were not required to criminate individuals; and, to guard against the danger which the State might apprehend from their passing, if liberated, into an enemy's country, that they were willing to leave the time of their liberation so long as

the war lasted to the discretion of Government, as also the place of their exile, it being understood they were not to be transported as felons.

This communication was stated by Lord Castlereagh to the Lord-Lieutenant. His Excellency immediately summoned the same persons with whom he had before consulted, and, having intimated to them the above proposition, strongly expressed his disposition to grant a respite to Bond, in order precisely to ascertain what might be expected from the renewed offer of the State Prisoners. The opinion of these gentlemen perfectly coincided with that of his Excellency. The alterations in the terms of the proposal, but more particularly the offer of O'Connor to disclose his treasons, appeared to them to make it highly expedient to entertain the proposition so submitted. Bond was accordingly respited until Monday the 30th of July.

Lord Castlereagh, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, transmitted to the Lord Chancellor at Mount Shannon a statement of what had passed. His Lordship highly approved of what had been done, and stated in the strongest manner his opinion of the expediency of obtaining, on any terms consistent with the public safety, the confessions of the State Prisoners, particularly of M'Nevin and O'Connor, as the only effectual means of opening the eyes of both countries, without disclosing intelligence which could by no means be made public.

The Secret Committee of the Commons was at this time appointed, and proceeding with its inquiry. It was intimated to the prisoners that no further respite could be granted to Bond, unless they, in the mean time, gave Government unequivocal proofs of their serious intention to make a full disclosure of all their treasons.

On Sunday, M'Nevin, O'Connor, and Emmett, requested an interview with Lord Castlereagh, that they might understand the wishes of Government, and explain their own inten-

tions. This was accordingly complied with, under the Lord-Lieutenant's directions: the Lord Chancellor, who came to town that day, and Mr. Cooke being present at the interview. The substance of the explanation which took place was as follows. The only observation made on the part of the prisoners was, that they should not be required to implicate persons by name, and that the place of their banishment should neither be Botany Bay nor any other part of the world to which convicts are sent.

On the part of Government, a full discretion was reserved of retaining any or all of the prisoners in custody so long as the war should last, provided their liberation was deemed inconsistent with the public safety; and it was intimated to them that they could not be permitted to reside on the Continent during the contest, and that, if they were suffered to retire to America, they must be prepared to give security for conforming faithfully to the terms of their liberation.

On these conditions they declared themselves ready, with the most perfect good faith, to give the fullest information to Government of the treason in all its branches, foreign and domestic, in whatever manner the Lord-Lieutenant should point out. It was proposed by them that some person, on the part of the Government, should proceed to examine them. In reply to this, it was suggested, that it was difficult for any person to frame questions, not being in possession of the extent of the information which it was in their power to give, and that it would be more desirable that they should state facts, in the shape of a narrative, upon which afterwards explanations might be required. To this they assented, requesting two or three days to arrange their ideas, which was granted. Under these circumstances, a further respite of a week was granted to Bond.

On the same evening, a paper, marked No. 2, signed by 79 of the State Prisoners (including O'Connor, Sampson, &c.) was delivered to Lord Castlereagh. This paper, after being

perused by the Chancellor, was laid before the Lord-Lieutenant. The terms on which the disclosure was to be made by the prisoners being perfectly understood, it was not thought advisable to enter into any discussion on the wording of the above paper, nor to insist on a formal recognition in writing of that subscription, which appears on the face of the Bill since passed for enforcing their banishment.

It was evident, in the course of the communications which took place on this subject, that the greater number of the prisoners entered very unwillingly into the agreement of confession and banishment. Bond and Neilson were naturally anxious upon the subject, and appeared to leave no means untried to induce the others to accede to the measure; but not so as to indicate any disposition to betray their party to save their own lives. M'Nevin, feeling himself in danger, was proportionably inclined to a compromise, but, O'Connor and Emmett, particularly the former, were most reluctant to accede to either stipulation, and would willingly have availed themselves of any pretence which might justify them to their own party in refusing to make this sacrifice to save Bond's life.

As the evidence of the above-named persons was considered of the last importance to both countries, and as there were little hopes of convicting the leading traitors then untried, (Neilson excepted) by due course of law, it did not appear to his Excellency, and those with whom he consulted, expedient to contest expressions in all probability at the hazard of losing the now substantial advantage of having the treasons of the distinguished members of the Union proved by their own confession. A copy of this paper, which was meant for publication, having been confidentially entrusted to Mr. Pollock, then employed in conducting the criminal trials in the North (perhaps without instructions sufficiently explicit), it was inadvertently published in a Proclamation of General Nugent's.

In pursuance of the above conversation, a Memorial, signed

by O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, a copy of which has been already transmitted to Mr. Wickham, was delivered in a few days after. This paper was returned to the prisoners, by the Lord-Lieutenant's orders, as inadmissible, being rather a justification of their treason than a statement of facts. They professed that it was not their wish to offend; that they were ready to separate, if directed so to do, the facts from what they called the explanations, but submitted whether, as Government was now in possession of the leading facts of their information, the best mode of obtaining the statement in the shape most acceptable would be to bring them before either the Privy Council or Secret Committee. This was accordingly assented to, and they were examined before the Secret Committees of both Houses. Although there was little appearance upon their examination of contrition or of change of principle, yet it was the unanimous opinion of both Committees that their evidence as to facts was given freely and without reserve, and that they had fairly adhered to the spirit of their engagement.

From this time the strictness of their confinement was in a great degree relaxed. Being no longer objects for prosecution, their intercourse with each other within the gaol was permitted, and leave was granted them to see their families under certain regulations, which regulations it since has appeared were not sufficiently enforced by the keepers of the several prisons.

Their very daring publication appeared in print on the 27th of August. On the same day, they were ordered to be confined separately, and no person permitted to have access to them without an order from Government.

On the following day, Mr. Marsden, by Lord Castlereagh's directions, had an interview with them. The substance of what passed is stated in a very accurate minute, signed by Mr. Marsden, and transmitted to Mr. Wickham.

On the 6th of September, they were again brought before

the Committee of the Lords, and underwent an examination relative to their publication which was perfectly satisfactory to the Committee.

Since that time, O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Emmett have been permitted to breakfast and dine together; but continue to be excluded from all intercourse with other persons without a special order from Government.

Memoir of the State Prisoners.

The disunion that had long existed between the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland, particularly those of the Presbyterian religion, was found by experience to be so great an obstacle to the obtaining of a Reform in Parliament on every thing of just and popular principles, that some persons, equally friendly to that measure and to religious toleration, conceived the idea of uniting both sects in pursuit of the same objects, a repeal of the Penal Laws, and a Reform, including in itself an extension of the right of suffrage to Catholics.

From this originated the Societies of United Irishmen, in the end of 1791. Even then it was clearly perceived that the chief support of the borough interest in Ireland was the weight of English influence; but as yet, that obvious remark had not led the minds of the Reformers towards a separation from England. Some individuals, perhaps, had convinced themselves that benefit would result to this country from such a measure; but, denying the whole existence of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, we may safely aver, to the best of our knowledge and recollection, that no such object was ever agitated by its members, either in public debate or private conversation; nor, until the Society had lasted a considerable time, were any traces of Republicanism to be met with there. Its views were purely and in good faith what the test of the Society avows: those, however, were sufficient to excite the most lively uneasiness in the friends of Protestant Ascendency and unequal representa-

tion, insomuch that the difficulty of their attainment, notwithstanding the beginning union of sects, became manifest; but, with the difficulty, the necessity of the measure was still more obvious, and the disposition of the people to run greater risks for what they conceived both difficult and necessary to be had was increased. This will sufficiently account for the violent expression and extraordinary proposals that are attributed to that Society. One of the latter was that of endeavouring, at some future but undetermined time, to procure the meeting of a Convention, which should take into consideration the best mode of effecting a Reform in Parliament, as had been done in 1784. It was thought the weight and the power of such a body, backed, as it was hoped it would be, with the support of Catholic and Protestant, and the increased disposition towards liberty which arose from the French Revolution, would procure a more favourable issue to the efforts of that Convention than had attended those of the former: but the object as yet was no more than a Reform in Parliament, only on broader and more liberal principles.

The discussion, however, of political questions, both foreign and domestic, and the enacting of several unpopular laws, had advanced the minds of many people, even before they were aware of it, towards Republicanism and Revolution: they began to reason on the subject, and to think a Republican form of Government was preferable to our own; but they still considered it as impossible to be obtained in consequence of the English power and connection. This, together with its being constantly perceived that the weight of English influence was thrown into the scale of the Borough interest, gradually rendered the connection itself an object of discussion, and its advantages somewhat problematical. While the minds of men were taking this turn, the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin was forcibly dissolved in 1794; but the principles by which it was actuated were as strong as ever.

As hypocrisy was not one of the vices of that Society, it

brought its destruction on itself by the openness of its discussions and the publicity of its proceedings. Its fate was a warning to that of Belfast, and suggested the idea of forming societies with the same objects, but whose secrecy should be their protection. The first of these Societies was, as we best recollect, instituted in 1795. In order to secure co-operation and uniformity of action, they organized a system of Committees, Baronial, County, Provincial, and even National; but it was long before the skeleton of this organization was filled up. While the formation of these Societies was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but with a timid step, advancing towards Republicanism. They began to be convinced that it would be as easy to obtain a Revolution as a Reform, so obstinately was the latter resisted; and, as this conviction impressed itself on their minds, they were inclined not to give up the struggle, but to extend their views. It was for this reason that, in their text, the words are, "an equal representation of all the people of Ireland," without inserting the words "in Parliament." This test embraced both the Republican and the Reformer, and left it to future circumstances to decide to which point the common strength should be directed. But still the whole body, we are convinced, would have rejoiced to stop short at Reform.

Another consideration, however, led the minds of reflecting United Irishmen to look towards a Republic and separation from England. This was the war with France. They clearly perceived that their strength was not, and was not likely speedily to become, equal to wresting from the English and the Borough interest in Ireland even a reform. Foreign assistance would therefore perhaps become necessary; but foreign assistance could only be hoped for in proportion as the object to which it would be applied was important to the party giving it. A Reform in the Irish Parliament was no object to the French; a separation of Ireland from England was a mighty one indeed. Thus they reasoned: Shall we, between two ob-

jects, confine ourselves to the one least valuable, even though it is equally difficult to be obtained, if we consider our own internal resources, and much more difficult to be obtained, if we consider the relation of Ireland with the rest of Europe?

Whatever progress this united system had made among the Presbyterians of the North, it had, as we apprehend, made but little way among the Catholics throughout the kingdom until after the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam.

Notwithstanding many resolutions which had appeared from them, manifesting a growing spirit, they were considered as entertaining not only an habitual progression for Monarchy, but as being less attached than the Presbyterians to political liberty. There were, however, certain men among them of a different description, who rejoiced at the rejection of their claims, because it gave them an opportunity of pointing out that the adversaries of Reform were also their adversaries, and that those two objects could never be separated with any chance of success to either. They used the recall of that nobleman, and the rejection of his measures to cement together, in political union, the Catholic and Presbyterian masses.

The modern societies, for their protection against informers and prosecution, had introduced into their text a clause of secrecy. They did more. They changed the engagement of their predecessors into an oath, and mutual confidence increased when religion was called in aid of mutual security. While they were almost entirely confined to the North, but increasing rapidly there, the Insurrection Bill was passed in the beginning of 1796, augmenting the penalties upon administering unlawful oaths or solemn engagements even to death. But death had ceased to alarm men, who began to think it was to be encountered in their country's cause. The statute remained an absolute dead letter, and the numbers of the body augmented beyond belief.

To the Armagh persecution is the union of United Irishmen most exceedingly indebted. The persons and properties

of the wretched Catholics of that county were exposed to the merciless attacks of an Orange faction, which was certainly in many instances uncontrolled by the justices of the peace, and claimed to be in all supported by Government.

When these men found that illegal acts of magistrates were indemnified by occasional Statutes, and the courts of justice shut against them by Parliamentary barriers, they began to think they had no refuge but by joining the Union. Their disposition so to do was much increased by finding the Presbyterians, especially of Belfast, step forward to espouse their cause and succour their distresses. We will here remark that, once for all, what we solemnly aver, that wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in Catholic Counties, it was uniformly observed that the numbers of United Irishmen increased most astonishingly. The alarm which an Orange Lodge excited among the Catholics made them look for refuge by joining together in the United system, and, as their number was always greater than that of bigoted Protestants, our harvest was tenfold. At the same time that we mention this circumstance, we must confess, and deeply regret, that it excited a mutual acrimony and vindictive spirit, which was peculiarly opposite to the interest and abhorrent from the feelings of the United Irishmen, and has lately manifested itself, as we hear, in outrages of so much horror.

Defenderism has been supposed to be the origin of the Societies of United Irishmen: this is undoubtedly either a mistake or a misrepresentation. We solemnly declare there was no connection between them and the United Irishmen, as far as we know, except what follows. After the Defenders had spread into different counties, they manifested a rooted but not an enlightened aversion, among other things, to the same grievances that were complained of by the Union. They were composed almost entirely of Catholics, and those of the lowest order, who, through a false confidence, were risking themselves and the attainment of redress by premature and unsystematic in-

surrection. In the North, they were also engaged in an acrimonious and bloody struggle with an opposite faction, called the Peep-of-Day Boys. The advantage of reconciling these two misguided parties, of joining them together in the Union, and so turning them from any views which they might have exclusively religious, and of restraining them from employing a mutually destructive exertion of force, most powerfully struck the minds of several United Irishmen. For that purpose, many of them in the Northern Counties went among both, but particularly the Defenders, joined with them, showed them the superiority of the Union system, and gradually, while Government was endeavouring to quell them by force, melted them down into the United Irish body. This rendered their conduct infinitely more orderly and less suspicious to Government.

It has been alleged against the United Irishmen, that they established a system of assassination. Nothing has been ever imputed to them that we feel more pleasure in being able to disavow. In such immense numbers and very various dispositions as were to be found in that body, although uniformity of system may have given a wonderful uniformity of action, yet it is unfair and unjust to charge the whole body with the vices of a few of its members. Individual grievances produced individual resentments, and the meeting of many sufferers in the same way caused them to concur in the same resolution. It appears, indeed, by some trials, that a Baronial [Committee] once took that subject into consideration, but it is manifest it was taken up by them as individuals, whose principles, it afterwards appeared, were not repugnant to the act.

A Committee of Assassination has been much talked of, and we have heard persons mentioned as members of it, whom we know, from the most private and confidential conversations, to be utterly abhorrent from that crime. We solemnly declare we disbelieve such Committees having ever existed; we most positively aver it never was with the cognizance [of the whole] or a part of the Union. We also declare that, in no communi-

cations from those who were placed at the head of the United Irishmen to the rest of that body, and *in no official paper*, was assassination ever inculcated, but frequently and fervently reprobated; it was considered by them with horror, on account of its criminality, and with personal dread, because it would render ferocious the minds of men in whose hands their lives were placed, most peculiarly placed, inasmuch as, between them and the rest of the body, they were out of the protection of law. In proof of this assertion, we would beg leave to refer to a sketch of a publication which we believe was seized among the papers of one of us at the time of his arrest, and which it was intended should appear, if the paper to which it alluded had not been discontinued.

One other observation, which we entreat may not offend, will, we hope, be decisive; if such a Committee had existed, and if the men at the head of the United Irishmen had thought assassination a justifiable mode of attaining their views, and had been capable of encouraging such an atrocity, possessed, as they were, of wide-spread means of acting, and powerful control over them who, it is now manifest, held the loss of their lives in utter contempt, the poniard would have been directed, not against such petty objects as an obnoxious county magistrate, or an informer.

We were none of us members of the United system before September or October, 1796. At that time, it must be confessed, the reasons already alleged and the irritations of the preceding summer in the North had disposed us to a separation and Republic, principally because we were hopeless that a Reform would ever be yielded to any peaceable exertion of the people. We cannot be accurate as to the progress either of the numbers or organization of the United Irishmen, because, it having been an invariable rule to burn all returns or other papers after they had ceased to be useful, we have no documents with which to refresh our memories; but we apprehend the reports of the Secret Committees to be, in that respect, suffi-

ciently accurate, except that the numbers were always much greater than appeared by those reports. The documents on which they rely only noticed those who went regularly into societies, but great numbers (perhaps, at a rough guess, half as many) were sworn to the test who were prevented, by private motives and local circumstances, from committing themselves in that way. We are, however, convinced that the numbers could not latterly be less than five hundred thousand.

The returns from the different Societies and Committees upwards specified, among other things, arms and ammunition. These were not originally included in them, nor were they introduced until after the passing of the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts, when the people began to be worse than ever carried towards resistance, and were extremely irritated by the indemnified violations of law in the North. The returns also stated sums of money having been collected: those sums were always very small, and applied towards the spreading of the system in other places, towards the support of persons imprisoned on charges connected with the Union, and on the conducting of their defences; any other expenses were defrayed by occasional private subscription.

The printed constitution mentions a National Committee; none such, strictly speaking, was ever formed at first, because to its appointment two Provincials at least were necessary; and, before the organization in any other part of the kingdom could reach to a Provincial, the immense numbers in Ulster required the superintendence of a supreme head. Some persons were then chosen by the Northern Provincial, with powers to associate to themselves such others as they should think fit. They were commonly called the Executive. When the organization began in Leinster, and a short time after the French had left Bantry Bay, some persons resident in this Province were associated to that body.

Things continued thus until many began to think that elections should be made pursuant to the Constitution. The

fidelity of the people had by that time been so abundantly proved, that men did not hesitate to submit themselves to a guarded election by the Leinster Provincial. National Delegates were therefore chosen by it, who acted for their own Province, and occasionally consulted with the Executive of the North on subjects of general importance. The election of National Delegates for Leinster first took place, as we best recollect, about the latter end of November, or in December, 1797.

The military organization had no existence till towards the end of 1796; and was, as near as could be, engrafted on the civil. In order to avoid giving alarm, it continued to conceal itself as much as possible under the usual denominations. The Secretary of a Society of twelve was commonly the petty officer; the delegate of five Societies to a lower Baronial, when the population required such an intermediate step, was usually the Captain; and the Delegate of ten lower Baronials to the upper Baronials or District was most commonly Colonel. All officers to Colonels up were indispensably elected by those they were to command; but, at that point, the interference of the Societies ceased, and every higher commission was in the power of the Executive only. As soon as a sufficient number of regiments were organized in any county, the Colonels were directed to transmit to the Executive the names of three persons fit, in their opinion, to act as Adjutant-General for that county: of those the Executive chose one, and, through this organ, all military communications were made to the several counties. In consequence of such arrangement, not more than one of the Executive need ever be committed with any county, and that only to a person of his own choice from amongst them. It so happened that the same member was enabled to hold communication with several Adjutants-General, which still further diminished the risk to the Executive. We refer to the amended printed Constitution, where the military organization, without being named, is more correctly set forth than we can now give it from memory.

As to the manner in which those men were to be provided with arms and ammunition, every man that could afford it was directed to provide himself with a musket and bayonet, and as much ammunition as he could; every other man with a pike, and, if he was able, a case of pistols; but this, we apprehend, was not strictly complied with. We have heard it said that treasurers were appointed for raising money to purchase arms, but no such appointment was ever made, at least, by the Executive: perhaps some private societies may have adopted such a measure. In many instances, the lower orders went about to private houses searching for arms. This the Executive constantly endeavoured to prevent, because they were unwilling to raise alarm in their adversaries, or to let the members of their body acquire habits of plunder. They endeavoured to dissuade from these acts, by representing to the people that the arms would be always kept in better condition by the gentlemen than by them, and could be easily seized whenever they were necessary: in other respects, our stores were in the arsenal at the Castle, and the military depôts throughout the country: our supplies were in the Treasury.

We have read, in some evidence lately given, that a person was appointed Colonel by a commission from a General in the United Army: we must be permitted to doubt, if not to deny, the truth of that assertion. No General was ever chosen for Leinster, and Colonels were always appointed by their Captains. They derived their authority from this appointment, and not from any commission of a General.

If Irish officers in foreign service had joined in our cause, they would have been gladly received and rapidly promoted. Indeed, an attempt to procure that was actually set on foot. We counted upon their attachment to their native soil and hatred to England as a substitute for Republicanism; and when they should be convinced that such a form of Government was the best security for the permanent separation of the two countries, we were sure of their fidelity. It has so hap-

pened, however, (either from the delay of peace on the continent, or because our agent was over-cautious in conducting the negotiation, lest it should become known to the respective potentates and communicated to the British Court), that nothing in consequence of it has hitherto been effected.

Attempts were made, with as much zeal as the necessary caution would permit, to introduce the system amongst the military, the militia especially; but the reports of the agents were mostly confused and unsatisfactory; so that the success of the measure could never be ascertained with any tolerable accuracy.

A military committee was appointed by the Executive in February, 1798, for the principal purpose of preparing plans of operation, either in the event of a premature insurrection, if we should be unfortunately and unwillingly forced into one, or of an invasion from France.

As a Committee, it did nothing; but some of its members took up the consideration of the latter subject, and framed instructions how to act in case of the landing of a foreign force. These were sent by the Executive to such Adjutant-Generals as had received their appointments: they generally went to use every effort in favour of the French.

We can aver that there existed no general plan of insurrection previous to the 12th of March, 1798; but some individuals had perhaps found local ones adapted to the taking of Dublin and a few other places, when the North was on the point of rising. Shortly after the celebrated Proclamation of General Lake, a plan of operations had been digested for the occasion, which were destroyed as soon as the people were dissuaded from that enterprise, and of which we cannot now speak with any degree of precision.

Several recommendations were occasionally delivered down from the Executive through the Committees, the dates or contents of which we cannot undertake to detail, unless they shall be called to our recollections. The most remarkable as they now occur to us, were a recommendation to abstain from

the use of spirits and excisable articles, not so much to destroy the resources of Government as for the purpose of preserving sobriety, which was so necessary to secrecy and morality, which was so necessary to good order. It may be right to remark that this recommendation was most astonishingly complied with, however painful to the people and contrary to their former habits. The Executive also directed to discourage the circulation of Bank notes, and published a hand-bill cautioning against the purchasing of quit-rents, pursuant to a scheme then in agitation, declaring that, as such a sale was an anticipation of the future resources of the country, it should not be allowed to stand good in the event of a revolution. The reasons for these publications are obvious. We must here remark, that many things were entrusted by the Executive to some one of its members; it having been an invariable rule that no more than one of them should ever, on any occasion, be committed with persons not of its body. For this reason, many things here stated are set forth on the credit of one individual, but believed by the remainder.

About the middle of 1796, a meeting of the Executive was held, more important in its discussions and its consequences than any that had preceded it. As such, we have thought ourselves bound to give an account of it with the most perfect frankness, and more than ordinary precision. This meeting was convened in consequence of a letter from one of the Society, who had emigrated on account of political opinions. It mentioned that the state of the country had been represented to the Government of France in so favourable a light as to induce them to resolve upon invading Ireland, for the purpose of enabling it to separate itself from Great Britain. On this solemn and important occasion, a serious review was taken of the state of the Irish nation at that period. It was observed that a desperate ferment existed in the public mind, and a resolution in favour of Parliamentary reform had indeed been passed in the House of Commons early in 1793; but, after it

had been frustrated by several successive adjournments, all hope of its attainment was vanished, and its friends everywhere proscribed. The volunteers were put down; all power of meeting by delegation for any political purpose (the mode in which it was most usual and expedient to co-operate on any subject of importance) was taken away at the same time. The prosecutions of 1794, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the resumption of coercive measures that followed it, were strongly dwelt on. The County of Armagh had been long desolated by fomented feuds, the two contending factions agreeing only in one thing—an opinion that most of the acting magistrates in that County treated one party with the most fostering kindness, and the other with the most rigorous persecution. It was stated that so marked a partiality exasperated the sufferers and those who sympathized in their misfortunes; it was urged with indignation that, notwithstanding the greatness of the military establishment in Ireland, and its having been able to suppress the defenders in various Counties, it was not able, or was not employed, to suppress those outrages in that County which drove 4000 persons from their native dwellings.

The magistrates, too, who took no steps against the Orangemen, were said to have overleaped the boundaries of law to pursue and punish the Defenders. The Government and Legislature seemed to take upon themselves those injuries by the Indemnity Act, which screened from punishment, and even honoured the violations, and, by the Insurrection Act, which enabled the same magistrates, if they chose, under colour of law, to act anew the same abominations. Nothing, it was contended, could more justly excite the spirit of resistance, and determine men to appeal to arms, than the Insurrection Act. It punished with death the administering of oaths, which, in their opinion, were calculated to promote the most honourable and virtuous purposes. The power of proclaiming Counties, and quieting them by breaking open the cabins of the peasants between sunset and sunrise, by seizing

the inmates and sending them on board tenders, without the interposition of a trial by jury, had, it was alleged, irritated beyond endurance the minds of the reflecting and the feelings of the unthinking inhabitants of that province. It was contended that, even according to the Constitution and example of 1688, when the protection of the constituted authorities was withdrawn from the subject, allegiance, its reciprocal duty, had ceased to bind. When the people was not redressed, it had a right to resist, and was free to seek for allies wherever they were to be found. The English Revolutionists of 1688 called in the assistance of a foreign Republic to overthrow their oppressors. There had sprung up in our own times a much more mighty Republic, which, by its offers of assistance to break the chains of Slavery, had drawn on itself a war with the enemies of our freedom, and now peculiarly tendered us its aid. These arguments prevailed, and it was resolved to employ the proffered assistance for the purpose of separation. We are aware it is suspected that negotiations between the United Irishmen and the French were carried on at an earlier period than that now alluded to; but we solemnly declare any such suspicion is unfounded. In consequence of this determination of the Executive, an agent was despatched to the Directory, who acquainted them with it, stated the dispositions of the people, and the measures which caused them. He received fresh assurances that the succours should be sent as soon as the armament could be got ready.

About October, 1796, a messenger from the Republic arrived, who, after authenticating himself, said he came to be informed of the state of the country, and to tell the leaders of the United Irishmen of the intention of the French to invade it speedily, with 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition; but he neither mentioned the precise time nor the place, doubting, we suppose, our caution and secrecy. Shortly after his departure, a letter arrived from a quarter which there was reason to look upon as confidential, stating that they would

invade England in the ensuing spring, and possibly Ireland. The reason of this contradiction has never been explained; but the consequence of it, and the messenger not having stated the intended place of landing, was, that when the armament arrived, in December, 1796, at Bantry Bay, they came at a time and in a port we had not foreknown.

After the intended descent had failed, it occurred to some members of the Opposition and their friends in the City, and to some of the most inconsiderate of the United Irish, that one more attempt should be made in favour of Parliamentary Reform. They hoped, by the terrible warning which had been given, by the facility of reaching our coasts, and (if the armament had landed) the possibility at least of its succeeding, would have convinced the borough proprietors of the necessity of conceding to the popular wish. The storm had dispersed — a cloud big with danger—but it might collect again, and the thunder of republic and revolution again roll, and perhaps burst over their heads. This was then judged the best moment to persuade them, in the midst of their fears, to a measure strictly counter-revolutionary.

We think it but right to state that no greater connection than that of private acquaintance and friendship ever subsisted between any of the members of the Opposition and the United Irishmen, except in this instance, and for the accomplishment of this purpose. In consequence of these joint efforts, a meeting was held at the Exchange, which declared in favour of Reform, and a proposal of that nature was submitted to Parliament. If, in the course of that effort for Reform, it had not become evident that success was hopeless, it was the wish of many among us, and we believe the Executive would have gladly embraced the occasion of declining to hold any further intercourse with France, except sending a messenger there to tell them that the differences were adjusted between the Government and the people, and that they would have no business a second time to attempt a landing. In fact, no advance was made to renew

the negociation until April, 1797, when an agent was sent. In the May following, General Lake's well-known Proclamation appeared. This very much increased the ferment of the public mind, and the disposition of the people to wish for a return of the French, that they might get rid of the severities of martial law. It did more — it goaded many of the people of the North to press the Executive to consent to an insurrection, independent of foreign aid. But about this time a letter arrived, assuring us that the French would come again, and requesting that a person should be sent over to make previous arrangements. The eagerness of those in the North, who were urgent for insurrection, was checked by making known to them this communication, and entreating for delay. It was resisted likewise by some of the most sober and reflecting among themselves, who were of opinion they were not yet sufficiently prepared for the attempt. These considerations prevailed, particularly as, in order to enforce them, advantage was taken of a wish expressed in Parliament that the people might rise.

The impatience, however, which was manifested on this occasion, and the knowledge that it was only controlled by the expectation of foreign and speedy assistance, determined the Executive to send a second agent, with an answer to the letter. This person departed in the latter end of June, 1797. By both these agents, rather a small number of men, with a great quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery, and officers, were required. A small force only was asked for, because the Executive, faithful to the principle of Irish independence, wished for what they deemed just sufficient to liberate their country, but incompetent to subdue it. Their most determined resolution, and that of the whole body (as far as its opinion could be collected) always has been, in no event to let Ireland come under the dominion of France; but it was offered to pay the expenses of the expedition. The number required was ten thousand men at the most, and at the least, five thousand.

The Executive inclined to the larger number; but, even with the smaller, the general opinion among them was, that there could be no doubt of success. As to the quantity of arms, by the first agent 40,000 stand were specified; but, by the second, as much more as could be sent. The difference arose from the disarming that had gone on in the mean time in the North, and from the increasing numbers that were ready to use them. The Executive also instructed its agents to negociate for a loan of money, if it could be had in France; but, if not, to negociate for that purpose with Spain. The sum was half a million. Our second agent, on his arrival at Hamburg, wrote a Memorial, containing these and other details, a copy of which we perceive Government have somehow or other obtained, and therefore refer to it. He then proceeded to Paris, to treat further on this business, where he presented a second Memoir. The object of this was to urge motives arising out of the new state of affairs, which should induce the Directory not to postpone the invasion. We cannot precisely state the whole of its contents, as, according to the constant practice, already mentioned, no copy of it has been preserved; but it went to demonstrate that so favourable a disposition as then existed in the Irish mind was in no future contingency to be expected. In any subsequent rupture between Great Britain and the French Republic, his Majesty's ministers must see that Ireland would infallibly become the seat of war, if they did not previously remove those grievances, the existence of which would naturally invite and prove a powerful auxiliary to the enemy. Such a rupture, it was observed, must be in the contemplation of the British cabinet, as several of its most leading members had declared, that they considered the existence of the British monarchy incompatible with that of the Republic. Conciliation would, therefore, according to every rule of policy and common sense, be ultimately adopted; and, though it should fall somewhat short of the wishes of the people, it was asserted that, if once possessed of a reasonable

share of liberty, they could not be brought to run the chances of a revolution, in order to obtain a more perfect system of freedom.

Our second agent, while at Paris, (and pending the negociation at Lisle) was told by some of the persons in power in France, that, if certain terms, not specified to him, were offered by the English, peace would certainly be made. However, after the negociation was broken off, he received positive assurances that the Irish never should be abandoned until a separation was effected, and that they should be left entirely at their own option to choose their own form of Government.

About the same time, a person came over, informing us that a considerable armament was ready, and embarked in the Texel, destined for Ireland, and only waiting for a wind. The troops were afterwards disembarked; but we are ignorant of the reason why they never sailed, except perhaps that the wind continued for so long a time adverse, that their provisions were exhausted, and that, in the mean while, disturbances had broken out in the French government.

It may be proper to remark, that in none of the negociations or communications from France did the Government of that country ever intimate the place they should land, or (except in the first) the force they would bring. Some time in the beginning of this year, a letter was received from France, stating that the succours might be expected in April: why this promise was not fulfilled we have never learned. We know nothing of further communications from any foreign State, nor of the future plan of operations of the French, but we are convinced they will never abandon the purpose of separating this country from England, so long as the discontents of the people would induce them to support an invasion.

Let us, then, while Ireland is yet our country, be indulged in a few remarks which we deem extremely important to its future prosperity. Now that we have given these full and aithful details of the past, we cannot be suspected of any but

pure and disinterested motives in what we are about to say, ere we leave it for ever. The parts we have acted have enabled us to acquire the most intimate knowledge of the dispositions and hearts of our countrymen. From that knowledge we speak, when we declare the deepest conviction that the Penal Laws, which have followed in such rapid and doleful succession, that the house-burnings, arbitrary imprisonments, free quarters, and, above all, the tortures to extort confessions, neither have had, nor can have, any other effect than exciting the most deadly rancour in the hearts of almost all the people of Ireland against those of their countrymen who have had recourse to such measures for maintaining their power, and against the connexion with Britain, whose men and whose means have been poured in to aid them. The matchless fidelity which has marked the Union, the unexampled firmness and contempt of death displayed by so many thousands at the halberts, in the field, in the jail, and at the gibbet, exempt us from claiming any belief on our personal credit. If the hearts of the people be not attached by some future measures, this nation will most assuredly be again and more violently disturbed on the next coming of a foreign force. If a reform be adopted, founded on the abolition of corporations and boroughs, as constituent bodies, and the equal division of the representation among those who may be entitled to the elective suffrage, the best possible step will be taken for preserving the monarchical constitution and the British connection. For the success of this measure we would not now answer; but, of this we are sure, you must extirpate or reform.

The heavy and still agitated minds with which we write will, we hope, not only apologize for any inaccuracies of style, but likewise serve the much more important purpose of excusing any expressions that may not be deemed sufficiently circumspect. Much as we wish to stop the effusion of blood, and the present scenes of useless horrors, we have not affected a change of principles, which would only bring on us the

imputation of hypocrisy, when it is our most anxious wish to evince perfect sincerity and good faith.

We, however, entreat Government to be assured that, while it is so much our interest to conciliate, it is far from our intention to offend.

A. O'Connor.
Thomas Addis Emmett.
William James M'Nevin.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, September 21, 1791, 11 P. M.

My Lord—A confidential person is this moment arrived from Paris, with a paper delivered by the Minister of the Marine to the Directory about the 16th of last month, pointing out, as the proper places for a descent in Ireland, Youghall and Kinsale—the descent to be made at each place at the same time; the two corps then to unite, and cut off the communication between Cork and the rest of the country; diversions to be made at the same time at Bantry, Ross, and Killowen. But that this paper bears the mark of authenticity, and that it is followed by an *arrêté* of the Directory, giving discretionary powers to the Minister of the Marine to execute his project in the manner that shall seem best to him, and that the Minister at War is directed to co-operate with him, it would not be worth while to transmit this intelligence to your Lordship; as, with the comparatively small force that has sailed from Brest, it seems hardly possible that any thing could be effected so directly in the face of Admiral Kingsmill's squadron. The paper was accompanied by a small sketch of a map of the southern part of Ireland, which I send your Lordship enclosed.

It is intended that, at the time the troops should land, an insurrection should break out at Lismore, where it is supposed that some of the Irish refugees would previously have arrived from France. I have the honour to be, &c.,

William Wickham.

PS. (30 m. p. 11. P. M.) The Duke of Portland, to whom

I had sent the intelligence as soon as received, has just written to me to say that he will write himself to the Lord-Lieutenant. I, therefore, detain the messenger. It appears, from the intelligence received, that Napper Tandy was to go immediately to Ireland, and remain concealed in the neighbourhood of Lismore or Killarney till the landing should be effected. Your Lordship is requested to have the goodness to return this map.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, September 24, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, by the Duke of Portland's direction, the copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Secretary Dundas by Captain D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, together with the substance of the intelligence brought by the person therein alluded to: and I am to desire that your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Jersey, September 20, 1798, 6 P.M.

Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you, that M. de la Boissière, who is just arrived from France, brings advice that the frigates which had landed the invaders in Ireland, having returned to Rochefort, the commander of them came post to Brest, and took the command of the Hoche and the division described in my former Despatches; and that, on Friday, the 14th instant, they dropped to Berthaume, and on Saturday, at noon, sailed; and, on Sunday morning, the 16th, had disappeared, and not since heard of. I thought this information of sufficient moment to direct M. de la Boissière to proceed to Mr. Windham with it. Not to delay the Express, I hope you will pardon the hurry of this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of the Intelligence brought by Monsieur de la Boissière from France, which he left on the 20th September, 1798.

The Hoche, with six frigates, sailed from Brest on the morning of the 15th instant, and was out of sight at night. The number of troops on board the Hoche was 1,500. She was so crowded, that her lower batteries were shut. The frigates had 3,000 men divided amongst them. The fleet carried 40,000 stand of arms, and was commanded by the same officer who landed the troops in Killala Bay. He came express from Rochefort (to which port the frigates had returned) to take the command of this expedition. Very few sailors on board; the rest of the crew landsmen.

The French had had accounts of Humbert's first successes, and of his having taken six pieces of cannon. If the fleet succeeded in landing the troops, they were to return to Brest to embark others. Two 74s, of which the Montblanc was one, were ready to sail, but had no troops on board.

Arthur O'Connor was at Rochefort, in Lower Brittany, in the summer of 1797.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, September 27, 1798.

My Lord — I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, the enclosed extract of a letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville, stating that the Dutch had embarked some troops in the Texel, which were destined for Ireland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville.

Hamburg, September 14, 1798.

Intelligence has been received here from Holland, that the Dutch had embarked about five thousand troops in the Texel,

which were destined for Ireland; but that, on the news of the sailing of a fleet from England on a secret expedition, they had disembarked them again, apprehending an attack on the Texel. These troops were partly Dutch, partly French. I have not been able to learn, with any precision, the naval force which was intended for this expedition; nor had it been possible to procure any previous knowledge of the proposed embarkation. The first thing that was known to any one here was that they had been embarked and already disembarked.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

[No date—indorsed 1798.]

Dear Castlereagh—I had a great deal of conversation yesterday with Mr. Pitt respecting yourself. He has every kind wish towards you, and is impressed, as, indeed, are all the Ministers, with a very high opinion of your capacity and conduct. He feels the delicacy and the peculiarity of your situation; at the same time, he knows not how to remedy it immediately.

In order that the appointment of Lord Cornwallis should have as little as possible the appearance of a change of system, Pelham was permitted to remain in office in the same manner he did with me; and your continuing to do the duty seemed quite necessary to that arrangement. Pitt feels that it would be indelicate to urge Pelham to too hasty a decision, and that, was it the object to retain your services, he thought some delay in Pelham's taking his determination would be desirable, as Lord Cornwallis will, by that means, become more familiar with you, and more desirous of your continuing to exercise the office you hold. It did not seem, therefore, expedient to Pitt that any step should be taken at present. There appeared to be every inclination in his mind to overcome the prejudice which is felt here against the Secretary being an Irishman in your favour, and he felt all the delicacy and responsibility

of your situation now as deserving every attention hereafter.

I judge, from these circumstances, that there will be every disposition, if Lord Cornwallis does not urge any other recommendation, that, when Pelham resigns, you will succeed him; but, as I did not feel myself authorized, as Pitt could not give me a decisive answer, to urge upon him the subject, I can say nothing more decided to you at present.

It would have been satisfactory to me, as well as to you, that you should have received an official communication of the wish of Ministers here to remain under your present circumstances to do the business of the office. The omission was quite accidental, and I can assure you of their perfect approbation.

I do not recollect whether I told you that Pelham felt exactly as he ought upon this subject: he is as much aware as we are of the awkwardness and of the inconvenience, both to himself, to you, and the public, of the present arrangement; but he thought, under all the circumstances, he could not at the moment decline to remain in office; but I conceive he will take his determination in a month. I hope this letter will prove satisfactory to you as far as it goes: I assure you, your conduct is most highly approved.

The King and every one of his Ministers are inclined to a Union, and it will certainly be taken into consideration here, and you will probably hear from the D[uke] of P[ortland] upon it.

I am much surprised that the trials are brought on, for the state of the country does not seem to warrant any alteration in that determination, which appeared to me to be wisely taken to postpone them till quieter times.

Pitt is extremely desirous that all the intelligence of the plot which has been received should be referred to a Secret Committee, who should produce a Report to contradict and to falsify the scandalous stories, which are propagated here

respecting the conduct of the Irish Government, and that this Report should be made to the House, and circulated before the opening of our Session. Lord Cornwallis will probably hear from the Duke of Portland upon this subject also.

I should be much obliged if you would mention to the Lord-Lieutenant, that the Duke of York had very anxiously recommended General Budé for a pension upon the Irish establishment, which I had not been able to give him, and that I therefore beg to mention him for his consideration.

I am to see the Duke of York to-day, and I should wish to be able to tell him I have written to Ireland on the subject. The amount of pension was to have been £300 per annum.

There are hopes entertained of receiving good news even from the Mediterranean.

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Walmer Castle, September 25, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—I have not failed to converse with Mr. Pitt on the subject of your situation in Ireland since I have been here, and I have found him, as I ever have, perfectly open and liberal in his conduct upon this occasion. He agrees with you and with me, that the proposal to quit the situation, whatever may be the ultimate decision, should originate with you, and that it would be the shortest, the most efficient, and the most creditable, were *you*, after you have communicated with Pelham, which I rather understand you already to have done, to speak to Lord Cornwallis himself upon the subject. Mr. Pitt has heard no more about Mr. Grenville than when I wrote to you, and would prefer your remaining in the situation of Secretary. At the same time, he does not feel that it would be either respectful to Lord Cornwallis or agreeable to you were this suggestion to come from him. From every account I have heard, there is but one opinion of your conduct in Ireland,

and, if you retire from the office, you will have gained very signal credit.

The account you give of the army is very alarming, and I am sorry Lord Cornwallis is slow to inquire into the cause of the misbehaviour of the Longford and Kilkenny regiments: I concluded, when I heard of their misconduct, they would have been broke.

You will be glad to hear my mind is much better satisfied with the step I have taken, and that Pitt and I are upon the very best terms. I am sorry to say I do not think him by any means well.

Ever yours,

CAMDEN.

Mr. Marshall to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Reddish's Hotel, St. James's, September 26, 1798.

My dear Lord—I returned yesterday afternoon from Stanmer, where I left Mr. Pelham surprisingly recovered. He is grown very fat; and, for the last three weeks, has had no return of his nervous head-aches. However, he is still afraid of engaging too deeply in business, and proposes to remain for some time longer at Stanmer. He inquired very affectionately about your Lordship, and desired me to assure you that he approved most heartily of every part of your conduct.

The Union is to be brought forward, and the leading points of it are now under consideration. Mr. Pelham will go to Ireland for that purpose, if his health will permit. If he should not be able to go, he will use his best endeavours with the King's Ministers for your being appointed to succeed him. If he should go, he will press for your being made Chancellor of the Exchequer, which office he will vacate by giving to the present possessor the office for life which you now hold and a Peerage. I mention this to you, by Mr. Pelham's desire, in confidence. With regard to the Union, the leading articles may possibly be settled thus:—

The Protestant Establishment to be secured as by the Articles of Union with Scotland. Catholics to be eligible to all offices, taking the oath of 33 Geo. 3, c. 21; but quære as to their sitting in Parliament.

The 150 places of representation in Ireland to be reduced to 100, viz., 50 from the 32 Counties, and 18 from the most considerable cities and towns, one from each; and the remaining 50 from the other 100 places, two places choosing members either jointly or alternately. Quære, as to compensation, and how?

Thirty-two Peers, six of them Bishops.

Each country to remain separately charged for its own debt; and the present taxes of Ireland to remain applicable to her own internal civil and military establishments. The surplus might go to local improvements in agriculture, police, ecclesiastical institutions, &c.

If a plan of general contribution on all leading descriptions of income can be settled here, it must be extended to Ireland. Future expenses will be provided for, as far as the contribution goes, in a just proportion, varying always with the means of each; and the interest of any part of the expenses supplied by loans, or any sums to be raised by other taxes, might be defrayed in the same proportion as that in which the contribution falls on each country. This, it is supposed, would be more just than imposing the same new or additional tax on identical articles, which, though nominally equal, might apply very differently in the two countries. The land-tax would, of course, make a part of a general tax on income.

Intercourse between the two countries to be duty-free, except as far as to countervail a difference in internal or import duties.

Tithes need not be settled by the Union, but it is thought to be essential, for the peace of Ireland and the improvement of both countries, that something should be done respecting them; and it is suggested that the principle of the redemption of the land-tax should be extended, under proper regulations,

to tithes. This should be accompanied by a competent provision for a reasonable number of Catholic clergy.

Parliamentary Commissioners. Quære, if any to be appointed such, and who?

Such, I can assure your Lordship, are the leading articles, as proposed for the Union; but I own that it is yet possible that they may be altered in part or *in toto*. I mean them *only for your Lordship's eye*, in the strictest confidence; and, in any letter which you may write to this country, I am sure you will never make any allusion to them.

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours, &c.,

ROBERT MARSHALL.

Pelham has given me a print of himself for your Lordship. Ireland is a caricature which came out to-day. It is a shocking subject.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Admiralty Office, September 27, 1798.

My Lord—I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that despatches have this moment been received from Captain Countess, of the Ethalion, dated the 22nd instant, in the latitude 45° 41′, and longitude 6° 32′, giving an account of his having followed the enemy's squadron, in consequence of orders he had received from Captain Keats, of the Boadicea, from the time of its leaving the Passage du Raz, and that the squadron was then in sight, steering W. by N., with a fresh breeze Southerly.

The squadron consisted of one ship of the line, eight frigates, and an armed schooner, and appeared to be full of troops. Captain Countess transmitted this information by Captain White, in the Sylph sloop, which he had ordered to proceed off Cape Clear and the Mizen Head. Two days after Captain White separated, he fortunately fell in with the Kangaroo, by which sloop the despatches above-mentioned were landed at

Plymouth, while Captain White proceeded on in execution of his orders, and has probably before this apprized the commander of his Majesty's ships off Cape Clear of the exact force and situation of the enemy.

It appears that Captain Countess, previously to his despatching the Sylph, had been joined by the Anson and Amelia, and meant to follow the enemy, which he hoped to be enabled to do, from the favourable weather and the advantage which the ships with him had of those of the enemy in point of sailing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EVAN NEPEAN.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Duke Street, September 29, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from the Prince of Bouillon to Mr. Huskisson, containing some information relating to the preparations that appear to be making on the French coast, for the invasion of Ireland or England. I believe that these measures were adopted in consequence of General Humbert's first success, but I have no reason to believe that the orders for making their new levies of seamen have been countermanded.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Jersey, September 25, 1798.

Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Secretary of State, that information has reached me that forced levies of seamen are everywhere in activity in Brittany and Normandy, and marched by forced marches to Brest, to complete a fresh division of the fleet, ordered to be got ready to support that destined to Ireland. I likewise have received information from Paris that the most

active levy of seamen is ordered in the Flemish departments to complete a fleet of small vessels intended from the Texel and Dunkirk to the same destination.

I have the honour to be,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

To W. Huskisson, Esq., &c., &c.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Duke Street, September 29, 1798.

My Lord—Your Lordship will receive, as soon as possible, (probably by the middle of next week), the *official* letter conveying his Majesty's pleasure to the Lord-Lieutenant, that the name of Mr. Grattan may be struck out of the list of his Majesty's Privy-Councillors in Ireland. I send your Lordship, in the mean time, all that appears in the council-books here of the manner in which Mr. Fox's name was erased by his Majesty.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

"Struck out by his Majesty in Council with his own hand, on the 9th day of May, 1798.

"W. FAWKENER."

The above memorandum is inserted in the margin of the list of Privy-Councillors opposite Mr. Fox's name, which is struck through with a pen.[1]

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Duke Street, September 29, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 25th instant, marked secret, enclosing some of General Humbert's papers, which, according to

[1] The offence by which Fox drew upon himself this mark of royal displeasure was his having given as a toast, at a dinner of the Whig Club, "The Sovereign Majesty of the People of Great Britain."

the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, I have transmitted to the Duke of Portland. I will take care that the pages 11, 12, 13, and 14, shall be copied, and the copy transmitted to your Lordship, as soon as the despatches shall have been returned from Weymouth.[1] I am sorry that it has not been in my power to comply with your Lordship's request in time for the post to-day.

Your Lordship will not have failed to remark that the four first pages of the Instruction, marked No. 1, though written in the same handwriting, have no connection whatever with what follows. They relate to the projected descent in Cornwall, and are, word for word, the same as the paper transmitted to me by Captain Taylor, in his letter of the 18th instant, marked, "*Instructions pour le Général de Brigade Humbert, Commandant l'Expédition secrète confiée à la Légion des Francs.*" The rest, relating to Ireland, forms a part only of the General's Instructions for his conduct in that country. The beginning of them is evidently wanting; it seems, therefore, particularly desirable, before any notice can be taken of General Humbert's having acted under instructions which the law of nations will not warrant, that the remainder of this piece should be found; as, without it, it will not appear to whom the Instructions were addressed, and Mr. Humbert will undoubtedly say that they did not regard his expedition, and, as a proof that this was really the case, he will cite his own conduct in Ireland, which was, in many respects, different from what the person to whom the instructions relate was enjoined to do.

The Paper marked No. 3 is, word for word, the same with that transmitted by Mr. Taylor marked "*Instructions secrètes confiées aux officiers supérieurs*," in his letter above-mentioned of the 18th instant. Could it be made out that General Humbert had accepted a command under these Instructions, I am confident that there would be but one opinion in this country as to the manner in which he ought to be treated. It becomes,

[1] His Majesty, with his family, was then at Weymouth.

on that account, extremely important that no doubt whatever should exist as to the fact of his having really received them. I beg leave, at the same time, to observe to your Lordship, that the above suggestions are merely from myself, the Duke of Portland not having yet seen the despatches.

I have the honour to be, &c., WM. WICKHAM.

Pages 11, 12, 13, & 14.

A l'Armée Française destinée à opérer la Révolution d'Irlande.

Républicains—Fier de vous avoir fait vaincre en plusieurs occasions, j'âi obtenu du Gouvernement la permission de vous conduire à de nouveaux succès : vous commander c'est être assuré de triompher.

Jaloux de rendre à la liberté un peuple digne d'elle, et mûre pour une Révolution, le Directoire nous envoye en Irlande à l' effet d'y faciliter la révolution, que d'excellents Républicains viennent d'y entreprendre. Il sera beau pour nous qui avons vaincu les satellites des Rois armés contre la République, de briser les fers d'une Nation amie, de lui aider à reconquérir ses droits usurpés par l'odieux Gouvernement Anglais.

Vous n'oublierez jamais, braves et fidèles compagnons, que le peuple chez lequel nous allons est l'ami de notre patrie ; que nous devons le traiter comme tel, et non comme un peuple conquis. En arrivant en Irlande, vous trouverez l'hospitalité, la fraternité. Bientôt des milliers de ses habitants viendront grossir nos phalanges. Gardons nous donc bien de traiter aucuns d'eux en ennemis. Ainsi que nous, ils ont à se venger des perfides Anglais : ces derniers sont les seuls dont nous ayons à tirer une vengeance éclatante. Croyez que les Irlandais ne soupirent pas moins que nous après le moment où, de concert avec nous, ils iront à Londres rappeller à Pitt et à ses amis qu'ils ont fait contre notre liberté.

Par amitié, par devoir, pour l'honneur du nom Français, vous respecterez les personnes et les propriétés du pays où nous allons. Si, par des efforts constans, je pourvois à vos besoins, croyez que, jaloux de conserver la réputation de

l'armée que j'ai l'honneur de commander, je punirai sévèrement quiconque s'écartera de ce qu'il doit à son pays. Les lauriers et la gloire seront le partage du soldat républicain—la mort sera le prix du viol et du pillage. Vous me connoissez assez pour croire que pour la première fois je ne manquerai pas à ma parole. J'ai dû vous prévénir—sachez vous en rapeller.

Proclamation à la Nation Irlandaise.

Peuple d'Irlande—A diverses époques, vous avez manifesté votre horreur pour l'esclavage, auquel l'ambitieuse Angleterre vous a réduit ; et, malgré votre bravoure naturelle, vos efforts pour secouer le joug odieux furent sans succès, déjoués par l'adresse et la perfidie du ministère Anglais, qui, employant tous les moyens de corruption, opéra chaque fois la division parmi vos chefs, et parvint par leur trahison et leur désunion à vous retenir dans les fers.

Maintenant que la glorieuse et à jamais mémorable révolution Française a rallumé le feu sacré de l'amour de la liberté, que la tyrannie avoit en vain taché d'éteindre dans vos cœurs, votre comité secret central et révolutionaire a cru avec raison devoir profiter de l'instant où les armes de la France, partout triomphante, permettoient de prêter des secours à l'Irlande, pour recouvrer son ancienne indépendance.

Dans l'espoir de les obtenir, il s'est adressé au pouvoir exécutif de la République Française, lui a donné les assurances les plus positives des dispositions où se trouve la très grande majorité des Irlandais de redevenir un peuple libre, lui a, en même tems, fait part des mésures déjà prises de longue main dans le silence, et pour la réussite desquelles il ne manquoit plus que l'arrivée d'une armée Française, avec des armes et des munitions de guerre ; qu' aussitôt tous les patriotes en état de servir accourraient sous les drapeaux Français, et parviendroient en peu de tems à expulser les Anglais avec leur partisans du territoire Irlandois.

L'exposé touchant fait par votre comité secret de votre situ-

ation, de vos vœux, sa pétition de secours, faite au nom de votre nation entière, ayant excité chez tous les Républicains François ces sentimens de générosité et de bienveillance qu'ils se plaisent à accorder aux peuples opprimés, le pouvoir exécutif s'est déterminé à venir à votre aide d'une manière qui doit remplir vos plus hautes espérances.

Je viens pour cet effet de débarquer chez vous à la tête d'une armée de Républicains accoutumés à vaincre sous leur chef. Nous nous présentons comme amis sincères et zélés de tous ceux qui épouseront la cause de la liberté ; et nous n'ambitionnons que la seule gloire de briser vos fers et punir vos tyrans.

Ce n'est plus ici la lutte des maisons *d'Hanovre et de Stuart*, l'une pour devenir et l'autre pour redevenir despote. Les hommes libres ne combattent que pour le maintien de l'égalité des droits : ils détestent jusqu'au nom d'un maître.

Persuadés que vous partagerez avec nous ces nobles sentimens, nous vous offrons nos cœurs et nos bras, pour le rétablissement de votre dignité nationale, par le choix libre que vous ferez d'une forme de Gouvernement qui assure la durée de votre indépendance.

La liberté illimitée de prononcer son opinion sur les personnes et sur les choses éclairéra vos Représentans dans la confection de vos loix ; la publicité que vous donnerez aux délibérations previendra les erreurs ; l'ordre et le calme, que je vous aiderai à y maintenir, vous garantiront des excès de l'enthousiasme, quelquefois plus dangereux que les entreprises de la malveillance.

L'exemple des autres nations, l'expérience acquise par leurs divers essais, tout vous promet un bonheur qui a couté cher à vos amis, et qu'ils ont la générosité de vous offrir pour la seule démarche de vous prononcer avec la fermété convenable et digne d'un peuple de quatre millions d'individus.

Il n'est sans doute pas un Irlandois instruit qui ne sente les avantages de la position géographique de la population de son pays, de la richesse de son sol, de l'activité, force, et courage de ses habitans, du nombre, de la bonté, et de l'heureuse situ-

ation de ses ports. Son indignation doit donc être au comble lorsqu'il envisage l'affreuse misère de la très grande majorité de ses compatriotes, et réfléchit qu'en vain la Nature lui a prodigué ses bienfaits, si l'on ne parvient à circonscrire les effets de la tyrannie systématique du Gouvernement Anglais dans l'enceinte de la cruelle Albion.

En effet, c'est par suite de cet esprit envahissant que l'Angleterre est parvenue successivement à paralyser toutes les ressources physiques et morales de l'Irlande.

La politique Anglaise y a constamment entretenu un levain d'animosité et de méfiance entre les differentes sectes religieuses, dont le fanatisme, excité et dirigé par la cour de Londres, empêchoit le ralliement de forces Irlandoises contre l'ennemi commun. De cette désunion naquit la facilité de traiter les Irlandois en esclaves, en les excluant de toutes les places civiles et militaires, ou ecclesiastiques, pour raison du culte Romain que professent les trois quarts. Qui est presbytérien a la qualité qu'il a plu aux Anglais de lui donner de *dissident:* par cette seule distinction tout devient bientôt la proie d'une poignée de étrangers *protestants*, créatures dévouées au machiavelisme et aux rapines du Gouvernement Anglais.

Ces satellites du despotisme, à force de spoliations et d'injustices envers vos ancêtres et vous, sont devenus presque les seuls possesseurs des biens fonds de votre pays, dont le revenu, passant en Angleterre, vous livroit à la plus pénible indigence, et, de crainte que votre activité industrieuse ne vous relevat de cet accablement, l'acte de navigation fût dirigé aux fins de la pressurer, et de vous privér de tous moyens de former une marine. L'absolue nullité de la représentation nationale dans votre parlément ne vous permet pas même l'espoir des redressemens de vos griéfs. La défense d'acquérir des propriétés foncières, même d'en exploiter à longs baux, et qui n'a que tout récemment reçu quelques legères modifications, a forcé la plûpart des cultivateurs à devenir les journaliers et valets des usurpateurs des biens de leurs ayeux.

Ou vous a ôté, et par la sévérité des loix et par la privation des facultés, la possibilite de donner quelque éducation à vos enfans: enfin, on a poussé la barbarie jusqu'à vous interdire la langue de vos pères.

TRANSLATION.

To the French Army destined to effect the Revolution of Ireland.

Republicans—Proud of having rendered you victorious on several occasions, I have obtained permission from the Government to lead you to new successes; to command you is to make sure of triumphing.

Jealous of restoring to liberty a people worthy of it, and ripe for a Revolution, the Directory sends us to Ireland, for the purpose of facilitating the revolution which excellent Republicans have just undertaken there. It will be gratifying for us, who have conquered the satellites of kings armed against the Republic, to break the fetters of a friendly nation, to assist it to recover its rights usurped by the odious English Government.

Never will you forget, brave and faithful companions, that the people to whom we are going are the friends of our country; that it is our duty to treat them as such, and not as a conquered nation. On your arrival in Ireland, you will meet with hospitality, fraternity. Thousands of its inhabitants will soon swell our phalanxes. Let us then take good care not to treat any of them as enemies. Like us, they have to revenge themselves on the perfidious English. It is on these latter alone that we have to wreak a signal vengeance. Believe that the Irish sigh not less for us than we do for the moment when, in concert with us, they will go to London, to remind Pitt and his friends of what they have done against our liberty.

From friendship, from duty, for the honour of the French name, you will respect persons and property in the country to which we are going. If, by constant efforts, I provide for your wants, believe that, jealous of the reputation of the army which I have the honour to command, I shall severely punish any one who swerves from what he owes to his country. Laurels and glory shall be the lot of the French republican soldier—death shall be the reward of rape and pillage. You know me well enough to believe that I shall not break my word for the first time. It was my duty to forewarn you. Be sure to bear it in mind.

Proclamation to the Irish Nation.

People of Ireland—At various periods, you have manifested your horror of the slavery to which ambitious England has reduced you; and, not-

withstanding your natural bravery, your efforts for shaking off the odious yoke were unsuccessful, thwarted by the address and the perfidy of the English administration, which, employing all the means of corruption, produced every time division among your leaders, and contrived, through their treachery and disunion, to keep you in their fetters.

Now that the glorious and ever-memorable French revolution has rekindled the sacred flame of the love of liberty, which tyranny had in vain striven to extinguish in your hearts, your secret, central, and revolutionary committee has with reason deemed it to be its duty to take advantage of the moment when the arms of France, everywhere triumphant, permit her to lend succours to Ireland, in order to recover her ancient independence.

In the hope of obtaining them, it has addressed itself to the executive power of the French Republic; given it the most positive assurances of the dispositions prevailing among the great majority of the Irish to become again a free people, and at the same time communicated to it the measures long since taken in silence, and for the success of which nothing was wanting but the arrival of a French army with arms and munitions of war; that instantly all the patriots capable of serving would hasten to the French colours, and in a short time effect the expulsion of the English and their partisans from the Irish territory.

The touching exposition given by your secret committee of your situation, of your wishes, its petition for succours preferred in the name of your whole nation, having excited among all the French Republicans those sentiments of generosity and benevolence which they take delight to manifest towards oppressed people, the executive power has determined to come to your assistance in a manner that must fulfil your highest hopes.

For this purpose I have just landed among you, at the head of an army of Republicans accustomed to conquer under their commander. We present ourselves as sincere and zealous friends of all those who shall espouse the cause of liberty, and we aspire to the sole glory of breaking your fetters and punishing your tyrants.

This is no longer the contest between the houses of Hanover and Stuart, the one to become, the other to make itself again despotic. Free men fight only for the maintenance of equality of rights; they detest the very name of a master.

Persuaded that you will share with us these noble sentiments, we offer you our hearts and our arms for the re-establishment of your national dignity, by the free choice which you will make of a form of government which ensures the duration of your independence.

The unbounded liberty of expressing an opinion upon persons and upon things will enlighten your representatives in the framing of your laws; the publicity which you will give to the deliberations will prevent errors; the order and the tranquillity which I will assist you to maintain in them will preserve you from the excesses of enthusiasm, sometimes more dangerous than the enterprises of malevolence.

The example of other nations, the experience gained by their different essays, all promise you a happiness which has cost your friends dear, and which they have the generosity to offer you for the mere effort of speaking out with the firmness befitting and worthy of a people of four million individuals.

There is, without doubt, not one well informed Irishman but is sensible of the advantages of the geographical position of the population of his country, of the richness of its soil, of the activity, strength, and courage of its inhabitants; of the number, the excellence, and the happy situation of its ports. His indignation must therefore be unbounded when he surveys the frightful wretchedness of the great majority of his countrymen, and reflects that in vain Nature has lavished her bounty, if they cannot find means to circumscribe the systematic tyranny of the English Government within the compass of cruel Albion.

It is, in fact, by this usurping spirit that England has contrived to paralyze successively all the physical and moral resources of Ireland.

The English policy has constantly kept up there a leaven of animosity and jealousy between the different religious sects, whose fanaticism, excited and directed by the court of London, prevented the rallying of the strength of Ireland against the common enemy.

From this disunion arises the facility of treating the Irish as slaves, by excluding them from all places, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, on account of the Romish religion which three-fourths of them profess. Whoever is Presbyterian, has the quality which the English have been pleased to give him of Dissident: on account of this single distinction, every thing soon becomes the prey of a handful of Protestant foreigners, creatures devoted to the Machiavelism and to the rapine of the English Government.

These satellites of despotism, by dint of spoliations and injustice perpetrated upon your ancestors, have become almost the only possessors of landed property in your country, the revenue of which, transmitted to England, consigned you to the most abject indigence; and, for fear that your industrious activity should raise you again from this abasement, the Navigation Act was applied to the purpose of keeping it down, and to

deprive you of all means of forming a navy. The absolute nullity of representation in your parliament does not allow you even the hope of redress of your grievances. The prohibition to acquire landed property, or even to hold it on long leases, and which has but very lately received some slight modifications, has forced most of the farmers to become day-labourers and servants to the usurpers of the estates of your ancestors.

You have been precluded, as well by the severity of the laws as by the privation of means, from the possibility of giving any education to your children; and, to conclude, barbarity has been carried to such a pitch, as to forbid the use of the language of your forefathers.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

[No date—indorsed October 11, 1798.]

Dear Castlereagh—I cannot give you any decisive information about Pelham. I cannot conceive his health is sufficiently re-established, but yet he has not given up all thoughts of returning, and I should do him great injustice, if I did not say that he appears desirous of doing that which would be most advantageous to you.

Mr. Pitt is eager and anxious to the greatest degree with respect to Ireland, and it is the subject on which he contemplates most and is the most uneasy. Pray let me know how matters go on. I assure you, and I am sure you will be glad to hear it, I make these inquiries solely from my anxiety for the country; for, however I might have felt leaving Ireland—and you know, as intimately as any one, what I did feel—my mind is quite reconciled to the measure, and I am very happy again.

I read your last letter to Mr. Pitt, who was much pleased with its liberality. He entirely approves your conduct, and so, as far as I learn, does every one.

I go to Brighthelmstone to-morrow, but return next week, to meet the Chancellor of Ireland. I have not time to add more.

Ever yours,

CAMDEN.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, October 15, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that your Lordship will be pleased to inform the Lord-Lieutenant, that the small squadron of frigates, which has been for some time blocked up at Dunkirk, had escaped from that port, and gone to Flushing, and that the Babet, Ariadne, and Savage, having supposed they had proceeded to the coast of Ireland, had sailed directly for Killala Bay.

The secret letters received to-day from the French coast give reason to suppose that no very active preparations are carrying on at Brest.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, October 15, 1798.

My Lord—I send your Lordship the enclosed letter, by the Duke of Portland's directions, and have his Grace's command to desire that you would be pleased to request the Lord-Lieutenant to signify his wishes with respect to young Birch, who is still in the custody of a messenger here.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

To his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Dublin, October 10, 1798.

My Lord—I again take the liberty of addressing your Grace in favour of my unfortunate son, still a prisoner in England, under a charge of being concerned in the late rebellion in the North of Ireland, and hope you will have the goodness to acquaint the Marquess Cornwallis of it. When I applied to him to have my son transmitted here, or disposed of in such a manner as he and your Grace should think proper, I received for answer, through Lord Castlereagh, that his

Excellency had not been officially informed of his being a prisoner, and could not take notice of it, until such time as the British Ministry thought proper to communicate to him, and desired I would apply to your Grace to have it done; and I rely on your accustomed goodness to me, to grant my request, which I shall ever most gratefully acknowledge, with the many comforts you have been so good as to grant to my unfortunate son, whose imprudent conduct has brought him to his present unhappy situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

GEORGE BIRCH.

The Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to Lord Castlereagh.

Grosvenor Square, October 16, 1798.

My dear Lord—I have seen Mr. Pitt, the Chancellor, and the Duke of Portland, who seem to feel very sensibly the critical situation of our damnable country, and that the Union alone can save it. I should have hoped that what has passed would have opened the eyes of every man in England to the insanity of their past conduct, with respect to the Papists of Ireland; but I can very plainly perceive that they were as full of their popish projects as ever. I trust, and I hope I am not deceived, that they are fairly inclined to give them up, and to bring the measure forward unencumbered with the doctrine of Emancipation. Lord Cornwallis has intimated his acquiescence in this point; Mr. Pitt is decided upon it, and I think he will keep his colleagues steady. Most fortunately, we have a precedent in the Articles of the Union with Scotland, which puts an end to all difficulty on the only point insisted on by Lord Cornwallis, of which they are equally tenacious here. By one of the Articles, it is stipulated that every member of the Parliament of Great Britain shall take the Oath of Supremacy, &c. on his taking his seat, *unless it shall be otherwise provided for by Parliament.* So that it cannot

admit of a question, that a similar provision should be made for Ireland, which Mr. Pitt is perfectly satisfied shall be done. He is also fully sensible of the necessity of establishing some effectual civil control over the Popish Clergy, which he thinks will be best effected by allowing very moderate stipends to them, and obliging every priest to take a license from the Crown, for performing ecclesiastical functions, on pain of perpetual banishment, if he shall officiate without it. I have pressed upon him the necessity of immediate communication on this subject with the principal persons in Ireland, and I do believe he will desire their attendance here. I also stated to him the indispensable necessity of a Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland being sent over immediately. Pelham is now at Stanmer, but I should hope he will not long be suffered to remain there.

I hope to be released from my attendance here very soon, and, whenever I can see the King, shall set out for Ireland. If I have been in any manner instrumental in persuading the Ministers here to bring forward this very important measure, unencumbered with a proposition which must have swamped it, I shall rejoice very much in the pilgrimage which I have made. I expect that by this time some of the British squadron on the Irish coast have nabbed the Brest fleet.

Yours always very truly, &c., CLARE.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, October 19, 1798.

My Lord—In addition to the letter from Mr. Rufus King, the American Minister, to the Duke of Portland, which his Grace transmitted to the Lord-Lieutenant, in his letter of yesterday, I have the honour to forward to your Lordship, by his Grace's direction, a second letter, from the same gentleman, on the same subject.

I saw Mr. King yesterday, and had some conversation with him on the subject of this correspondence, when he assured me

that, under the powers given him by the Act lately passed in America, the President would not suffer any of the traitors from Ireland to land in America; and that, if they escaped his vigilance and set foot on shore, he would instantly have them seized and sent back to Europe. This determination of the President of the United States, which Mr. King told me I might consider as official, seems to furnish a conclusive answer to any complaints that may be made of these people when the Government shall signify to them the impossibility of their being suffered to go to America.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Rufus King to the Duke of Portland.

Great Cumberland Place, October 17, 1798.

My Lord—I am concerned to trouble your Grace again on the subject of the exile of the Irish State prisoners, especially after the friendly assurances that your Grace has had the goodness to give me, and which have induced me to believe that they would not be permitted to go to America. But the late accounts from Ireland, which, I hope inaccurately, state that preparations are making to send them to the United States, give me much anxiety lest I have omitted any further step that might have been expected, or proper, in order to prevent it. It is true, that the President of the United States has power to deny, and, in my opinion, will refuse them a residence among us, provided he is apprized of their names and delinquency; but of these he may be ignorant, especially as I have expressed to him my expectation that they would not be permitted to go to America. If his Majesty's Government is still free to decide, I must repeat my earnest hope that these delinquents may not be permitted to proceed to the United States. If the permission of Government has already been given, I take the liberty to ask of your Grace a list of the names, and a description of the persons, of those of the State

prisoners who are to be sent into my country, in order that I may, if possible, in season apprize my government of the measures. It is quite possible, and I still hope, that these publications are altogether erroneous. In this case, I must beg your Grace's pardon for having thus unnecessarily troubled you on a subject that, through your obliging interference, had already been satisfactorily decided.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, October 22, 1798.

Sir—I am honoured with your letter of the 15th, desiring to be informed of the Lord-Lieutenant's wishes in respect to Mr. Birch. I am to request that you will intimate to the Duke of Portland that his Excellency, having understood from Mr. Birch's father that it is his intention, should his son be released, immediately to send him to the East Indies, does not think it expedient, under all the circumstances of the case, to desire that he should be sent over. His Excellency only requests that the condition of his enlargement may be such as will leave the Crown at liberty to proceed against him, if he should return to this kingdom without license first obtained from Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Mr. Cooke.

Whitehall, October 22, 1798.

Dear Sir—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to you, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, a paper containing the names of the different persons in Ireland with whom the seamen, lately executed on board his Majesty's ship Defiance, appear to have been connected.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Secret Information relative to Ireland.[1]

The two persons who laid the last information before the French government relative to Ireland, were Bailey and Doctor Lawless. Lawless drew up a full statement of the military force in Ireland, and which he computed to amount to 70,000 men, including the military of all descriptions, and which, he said, were dispersed over the whole kingdom. This he read to me at the Hotel de France, Rue de Bons Enfans, near the Palais Royal, and afterwards presented it to the Minister of exterior relations, Talleyrand Perigord. In this he assured the Minister that those were mistaken who had stated the military in Ireland to amount to 150,000, or 200,000 men; but that no doubt the Government would be prompt in throwing over a considerable force. Under this idea, the Brest and other armaments were despatched with all possible haste, in order to be beforehand with the reinforcements of the English Government; the design of the French always being to send a considerable force, so as not to be disappointed in the object of their attack. In the conclusion of Lawless's paper, he solicited to be appointed Surgeon-General to the army of United Irishmen. Lawless speaks French well, having resided five years in France, and seems to me to be of a very intriguing disposition. I believe he is on board some part of the Brest expedition. Lawless was one of the last Executive Committee in Ireland—got into France by way of Lisbon.

There is, besides, in Paris, a person whom I believe I have not mentioned to you; his name is Madgett, which appeared in part of the correspondence on Jackson's trial in Ireland; the Crown lawyers took it for a fictitious name, but I assure you it is as real as yours or mine,[2] as I have frequently been

[1] This paper is without date or explanation of any kind.

[2] In the third volume of "Lettres Officielles et Confidentielles de Napoléon Bonaparte," there is a memorandum signed by Madgett, and addressed to M. de la Croix, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, inform-

in company with him at Thomas Muir's lodging. He has resided forty years in France, and is near sixty years of age. The day I left Paris, he set out for Orleans, to tamper with the Irish prisoners there, in order to get them to engage in the expedition, on account of their knowledge both of the coast and of the country, and to serve as sailors in navigating their vessels. How far he succeeded I know not, but I know it was so far an object with the French, that the English and Irish were set by the ears, so that they were obliged to put them in separate prisons. The English were marched off towards Valenciennes: I saw them myself on their march, and the Irish were left at their ease and in full possession of the prison—I think their number might be about 150, or 200 in all. I cannot say whether Madgett went on board, but he is one of the most active instruments of the French Directory in every thing that respects Ireland. He lives in the Rue de Barque, near Thomas Muir, with whom he is in the strictest habits of intimacy.[1]

All the Irishmen that I met with in France, with the exception of Tone, Lewens, Tandy, and Bailey, always assured me that they liked the English much better than the French, and would rather be under the English Government, were they to

ing him that King George III. had funds in the Bank of Venice to the amount of ten millions sterling, and representing that it would be proper to draw the early attention of the commander of the Italian army to the securing of so glorious a prize, as soon as he should gain possession of that city. This memorandum was transmitted by the Minister to Bonaparte.

[1] Muir, a native of Scotland, and a member of the faculty of advocates, was one of those dangerous demagogues who are sure to spring up in times of political agitation. In 1794, the large assemblages of people constantly collected by his harangues having excited alarm, he was apprehended, tried at Edinburgh on charges of sedition, sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and sent to Botany Bay. As the express punishment prescribed by the law of Scotland for his offence was fine, imprisonment, or banishment, this sentence excited warm discussion, which, I presume, led to his release.

be under any; but their heads seemed deranged with the theoretical idea of a Republic. Hamilton, Maguire, and Cowan, whose real name is Corbet, are certainly wherever Tone is, as he picked those out to accompany him on the expedition. Corbet was a scholar of the University since I left it, was a student when I was there, and he is alluded to by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, on the visitation held in the University, as having contributed to corrupt the minds of the students. He was a lieutenant in the College corps, and his brother a serjeant, and are so like to each other, as it is hard to distinguish them.

There is one circumstance that occurred to us during our passage from Dunkirk, in the Anacreon; and though in itself it may seem little, yet it is in the strongest degree indicative of their principles. They were becalmed off the Orkneys, or, at least, were standing under easy sail: there were a few Dutch fishermen, and, as they came up with them, they regularly boarded them, and carried off their fish and everything these poor creatures had. They dressed themselves in English uniforms, (many of them speaking English) and thus, in disguise, robbed their friends and allies, and laid the blame on those who were innocent of it. I observed to some of the Irishmen on board, "If they used their friends so, what might their enemies expect? With one hand they gave the fraternal embrace, and robbed with the other."

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, October 24, 1798.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed extract of a letter from Mr. James Greig to Mr. Nepean, together with the deposition of Captain Thomas Roper, relative to the appearance of the Anacreon, French privateer, on the coast of Ireland, and her subsequent arrival at the port of Bergen; and I am to desire

that you will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. James Greig, Sen., to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Bergen, October 2, 1798.

The privateer is the Anacreon, Captain Blankman, who had landed some French troops in Bantry Bay; but, getting information of the fate of their countrymen in the north-west of Ireland, they re-embarked in a very few hours, and on their way here captured the Langton, of Lancaster, who was retaken the day following, and the Tom, of said place, a new ship from Petersburgh, which they brought in here with them. Napper Tandy is on board the privateer, likewise a General-Adjutant Blackwell, an Irishman. Tandy was to have been General-in-Chief in Ireland.

At Banff, the sixteenth day of October, one thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-eight. In presence of George Robinson, Esq., Provost and Deputy-Lieutenant of the Town and Burgh of Banff, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Banff: and also in presence of Archibald Young, Notary Public,

Appeared Thomas Roper, master and owner of the brig Langton, of Lancaster, who, being solemnly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that, upon the eleventh day of September last, he sailed with the said vessel from the port of Elsinora, having on board a cargo of hemp, flax, tallow, and iron, shipped at Petersburgh for Langton, Birley, and Company, of Kirkham, and under convoy of the Andromache, English frigate, and Wright, armed ship; that he continued with the convoy until the fourteenth day of the said month, being then in latitude fifty-six and a half North, or thereabout, when the signal

was made by the frigate for the ships bound north about to part convoy and proceed northward, which the Deponent accordingly did. Depones, that on Wednesday, the nineteenth day of the said month of September, they made one of the Orkney Islands, bearing North North West, about six or eight leagues, the Tom, of Lancaster, John Webster, Master, bound for Liverpool, being then in company; that the same day, about three o'clock, p.m., they descried a sail about two leagues to windward, which bore down upon them, and about four o'clock they suspected her to be an enemy, and she gave them chase. That the Langton had no guns on board, but one swivel, which they fired at her; but the Tom, having eight nine-pounders and two twelve-pounders on board, engaged the enemy for about half an hour very closely; and, until the French vessel, which proved to be a corvette of sixteen guns, had their grapplings ready to board the Tom, and having, during the whole time of the engagement, kept up an incessant fire of musketry, that the Tom, in consequence, was obliged to strike, and was taken possession of by the enemy; that the Langton received several of the enemy's shot in her sails and rigging, and, finding she could give no assistance to the Tom, she endeavoured to get off during the engagement; but, upon the Tom striking, she gave chase to the Langton, and the Deponent was also obliged to strike. Depones that the corvette sent a boat's crew on board the Langton, and took possession of her, and carried the Deponent and his crew, consisting of nine men, on board the corvette, leaving only one boy on board the Langton, and manning her with six or seven of her own crew. That, on coming on board the corvette, the Deponent understood that she had been on the north-west coast of Ireland, and had landed with a view of joining the French army and the rebels, but had quitted the coast, after being eight hours on shore, on finding that they could not effect a junction with the French troops. Depones that there were on board the corvette a General Rae, General Napper Tandy, two

colonels, and a number of other officers, whose rank he did not know, with about a hundred and seventy or a hundred and eighty men, including the crew of corvette. That of these men there were about forty flying artillery, with their apparatus and arms, and the vessel was full of arms, cutlasses, saddles, bridles, &c. That the name of the corvette was the Anacreon, Captain Blanchman. That the officers, and in general the men, spoke good English. Depones that there were on board the corvette two men in coloured clothes, who were given out to be passengers for America, taken out of the Triton, Captain Johnson, from London, but who the Deponent believes were Irishmen, and brought from the coast of Ireland by the corvette: and, indeed, one of the officers told him they were so. That these men went by the name of Henderson and Wallas; but he understood, after his arrival at Bergen, that a black servant of one of the officers had called at the inn, and inquired for Wallas under the name of Murphy. Depones that Captain Webster, of the Tom, and his crew were also taken on board the corvette, and she made the best of her way to Bergen. That, about nine o'clock next morning, being Thursday, the twentieth of September, they saw a sail to leeward, to which the corvette for some time gave chase. That, about eleven o'clock, the captain of the corvette said it was an armed ship of twenty-two guns, and thereupon ordered the Tom to make all the sail she could to the northward, and endeavour to take the Langton in tow; but, not being able to effect this, the captain ordered the prize-masters of the Langton to set fire to the ship, and quit her in the boat; but, there being no fire on board, and the Deponent's boy having secreted the tinder, this could not be done, and the crew, having left her and come on board the corvette, she, the corvette, made the best of her way to Bergen, and Deponent saw the above-mentioned armed ship take possession of the Langton soon thereafter, and, having come on hazy weather, the Deponent saw no more of the armed ship or the Langton. Depones

that, upon the twenty-first of September, the corvette, with the Deponent on board, arrived at Bergen, where he was landed. Depones that the corvette sailed from Bergen on Tuesday, the second of October, and the Deponent understood there was a dispute between the Captain and the general officers above named, the former insisting to go on a cruise, and the latter requiring him to carry them to Dunkirk; but the Deponent does not know which of them prevailed. Depones that he saw General Rae and the troops go on board the corvette; but, the night preceding, Napper Tandy and Blackwell had gone in the French consul's boat, and it was not known whether they were to be taken in by the corvette or not. Depones, that on Tuesday, the fourth current, the persons above-mentioned, calling themselves Henderson and Wallas, sailed for London in the Flora, formerly of Hull, whereof Robert Trowers, the Deponent's mate, was master. Depones that the Deponent took his passage to Portsoy, in the County of Banff, on board the Hope, Captain Strachan. That he sailed from Bergen on Tuesday, the fifth of October, with three of his crew and seven of the crew of the Tom, and arrived at Portsoy about midnight the fifteenth current: all which is truth, as the Deponent shall answer to God. And the Deponent takes instruments in the hands of the Notary Public above named.

Signed, THOMAS ROPER,
GEORGE ROBINSON,
Provost and Deputy-Lieutenant.

Mr. Elliot[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Cleveland Square, Wednesday, October 24th, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—It is so late, that I am apprehensive of losing the post, and can venture to write only a very few lines.

[1] Under-secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant in the Military Department.

I reached town yesterday, and have had a good deal of conversation, both with the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt on the topic of the Union. It has never, I understand, been in contemplation to put any restrictions on the power of the Legislature with respect to the future consideration of the Catholic claims; but the leaning of the opinion of the Cabinet is against extending the privileges of the Catholic Body at the present conjuncture. This sentiment appears to be partly the result of the embarrassment which, it is feared, might accrue from a proposition to alter the Test Laws in England, and partly to proceed from the difficulty which it is thought the Government here would experience in opposing the prejudices of its Protestant friends in Ireland. The latter is the argument which, I believe, has been chiefly relied on by Lord Clare; and, I plainly perceive, it has operated powerfully on Mr. Pitt's mind. Mr. Pitt, however, says that his judgment is not yet formed on the subject, and that some months ago it was favourable to the pretensions of the Catholics.

Lord Camden came to town yesterday evening, and seems in very good spirits. Pelham and Marshall are in Sussex. I have, however, begged Pelham to come to London immediately. The Duke of Portland, who is very sanguine on the subject, states his return to Ireland as certain; but I have very good reason to believe he has not decided. Lord Camden says that, though he is much better, the slightest degree of business fatigues him. The Speaker has been invited to London.

I found the Duke of Portland perfectly *cordial* and *communicative;* and I cannot perceive that any *ill* impression has been made by any complaints which may have come from Ireland. The Duke of Portland observed to me that Lord Cornwallis had not written more than three letters since his departure for England. I explained to him, however, that writing was troublesome to Lord Cornwallis; as he had to conduct the detail of the army, in addition to the civil busi-

ness annexed to his situation, he really had not leisure for correspondence.

You must, I am sure, have great satisfaction from knowing that Mr. Pitt speaks in the warmest terms of approbation of every part of your administration.

I learn from Mr. Hammond (Canning's colleague[1]) that Napper Tandy is suspected to be at Hamburg, and instructions have been sent to our resident there to apprehend him. I find the Americans absolutely refuse to admit O'Connor and the rest of the Irish traitors into their territories.

You will perceive by the papers that we have taken another French frigate; and Lord Spencer[2] seems to be sure of the rest. There have been several rumours of some advantages we have gained in the Texel, but they are without any official confirmation. It is believed, notwithstanding the representations in the French papers, that Buonaparte's situation is desperate.

I forgot to mention that I saw Douglas to-day at court, and he presses very much for an answer relative to the person he recommended to be put on the Concordatum list.

Believe me ever most truly yours,

W. E.

Dundas is not yet returned from Scotland.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, October 25, 1798.

My Lord—By direction of the Duke of Portland, I send your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, the enclosed extract from some very important communications that have been made to his Grace by a person of the name of O., respecting whom I have often written to your Lordship. He was on board the Anacreon, on her late expedition to Ireland.

[1] As under-secretary in the Foreign Office.

[2] First Lord of the Admiralty.

I have much satisfaction in forwarding to your Lordship the enclosed Bulletin.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Secret.

Napper Tandy.

With respect to him, the French Directory had little reliance on the great promises he made them. He promised to raise for them in Ireland a legion of 10,000 men, but they suspected his means of doing this, as well as the weakness and vanity of his disposition. Being importunate, the Directory made him a General provisionally *(provisoirement:)* he pledged his head for the success of his proposition, but, to his woeful experience, could not raise a single man, and had scarcely set his foot on Irish ground until obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

The expedition on board the Anacreon corvette brig, of 16 guns, 14 fours, and 2 eight-pounders, was fitted out by the *armateurs* of Dunkirk, on account of Government, and commanded by Captain Blankman, of Dunkirk; sailed about the 3d or 4th of September, 1798, at four o'clock in the afternoon; had on board a crew of about 50 seamen and marines, 30 cannoneers, 3 curricle guns, 1000 muskets, 800 pair of horse-pistols, 1000 sabres, and plenty of ammunition—destination, the north-west coast of Ireland. There were on board, besides Tandy, holding the rank of general, provisionally, from the French Directory, Blackwell, educated under the Jesuits; but, at the commencement of the French Revolution, being able to proceed no further in that line, entered the army; and, on the 14th July last, got the command of a company of hussars, was, shortly after, made a colonel; and, during the passage, compelled Tandy to give him first the rank of adjutant-general, and next that of general of brigade. This Blackwell had Tandy, like a child, in leading-strings. There was also on board General Ray, who was, during the American war, a

sort of commissary-general among the Illinois Indians, a colonel of artillery, eight captains, a captain of hussars, and some inferior officers.

The Irish on board were—M'Cann and Burgess, from near Drogheda; Cary, from near Dublin, Donovan, Murphy; young Corbet, from the University of Dublin, and myself, who have been in Ireland but once these eight years.

My opinion of Tandy is, that he is too weak to conduct any extensive plan, too wicked not to be abhorred by all who know him—and too insignificant for the British Government to take any other notice of him than to despise him.

His weakness appears very prominent in the following circumstance: he has got a few laced coats, which he is eternally overhauling and gazing on. The day he landed, for a few hours, on the Isle of Arran, at Rutland,[1] he intoxicated himself to such a degree as to be incapable of getting to the boat, and p——d on the shoulders of those who carried him to it; and one of the French officers says he paid him the like compliment in his boots; and, during the action with the Tom, armed merchantman, he squatted on the deck, with a pint bottle of brandy, which he emptied twice.

The only thing in which I saw him imitate the man was, that he had put two eight-pound shot in his pockets to leap

[1] During his brief stay on the Isle of Arran, this contemptible wretch caused the following Proclamation to be circulated:—

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

Northern Army of Avengers. Head Quarters. First Year of Irish Liberty.

General James Napper Tandy to his Countrymen.

What do I hear? The British Government have dared to speak of concessions. Would you accept of them? Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British Minister—a Minister, too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste, and massacred inhumanly their best citizens; a Minister, the bane of society and the scourge of mankind? Behold! Irishmen, behold in his hand the

overboard, in case of striking to the English ship. This action happened near the Orkneys, after which he gave peremptory orders to the captain to bear away for Bergen, in Norway.

The Anacreon, which is one of the fastest-sailing corvettes in all the French navy, sails eight or nine knots close by the wind; and, as far as I could collect, will sail for the West Indies, to cruise against the English trade. She has new top-masts, yellow sides, with black rings painted around one of her masts; lies very low in the water.

To show how the finances of France are, and how they meant to make their Irish friends pay their expences, three generals went out on that little expedition; and all the money they could muster among them was about twenty or thirty Louis d'ors. One of them, to my own certain knowledge, had but five guineas in all.

The French officers on board, all except General Ray, agreed in accusing Tandy of cowardice, imbecility, and wickedness, and wrote a letter of impeachment against him to the Minister of Marine. The names they gave him were "*infame, imbecile, scelerat.*"

Blackwell and Ray were said to belong to the *intriguants*, who live at Paris by their wits, and are ready to execute the meanest orders of the Directory.

olive of peace! Beware! his other hand is concealed, armed with a poignard.

No, Irishmen, no! you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues. Unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you; let his efforts be in vain. Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country: your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion to your cause—their shadows are around you, and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death—it is your duty to strike from their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals, Irishmen! Wage a war of extermination against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph.

J. N. Tandy.

At Dunkirk, Tandy left behind him a young man of the name of Lowrey, who went by the name of Black; and one Bailey, who, it seems, had been in the East India Company service.

From Brest, there went another of the Corbets, who belonged to the University, and who was lately accused by the Irish Chancellor of corrupting the youth of that seminary, Hamilton, who escaped into France when Quigley was arrested, and one Maguire. Tone himself was to have been the chief Irishman in that expedition.

From Rochefort went Teeling, who went by the name of Burke; Tone's brother, who went by the name of La Roche; and Byrne by the name of Byron.

Turner refused to have any thing to do with any of the expeditions, and went from Paris to the Hague. Joseph Orr, from Derry, and M'Mahon, the clergyman, went out in a small corvette of eight guns, to reconnoitre the Irish coast and to fire signals; but the boat turned leaky, and they were obliged to put into Flushing, being chased by the English cruisers. These two refused to go any more, and went to Boulogne, where they follow privateering.

Doctor Lawless remained at Paris, and a nephew of General Kilmaine's, whose name is Jenkinson.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, October 26, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, by the Duke of Portland's directions, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a further Extract from the report of a person who was on board the Anacreon on her late expedition to the North of Ireland, which there was not sufficient time to have copied yesterday.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract.

While Buonaparte's expedition was going forward, on the one hand, another scheme was carried on, on the other, viz., an attack on England, made through Ireland by the streights of Portpatrick and Drogheda. The Irishmen in Paris were formed into two parties ; one attached itself to Napper Tandy, and the other to General Smith, viz., Theobald Wolfe Tone. The cause of sending so small an expedition from Rochefort was twofold : first, the Irish at Paris were afraid of the French ; calculating, from their conduct in Holland and Switzerland, they thought they would be obliged to get rid of their new allies by force, which might cost them some trouble ; another reason was, the Irish were so confident of their own strength, that they thought a few troops would do, and, on the part of the French, it was a sort of an essay whether they could land troops in Ireland through the English fleet ; the English fleet being so much on their guard since General Hoche's expedition. The latter opinion gains additional credit from the sending of a large expedition immediately after it.

If Ireland should be attacked again, it was to be with from 20,000 to 30,000 men, but which, from the late havoc among their shipping and seamen, is next to an impossibility. The grand object of the French is, as they term it themselves, London. *Delenda Carthago* is their particular end ; once in England, they think they would speedily indemnify themselves for all their expenses, and recruit their ruined finances. The navy of England, crossing them in all their monstrous views, is peculiarly obnoxious to them. One of their most particular reasons for attacking Ireland, with a view to sever it from England, is to strike a mortal blow at the navy of Great Britain, by cutting off, as they say, England's *right arm*— the seamen and provisions for the navy.

The British navy, in case they should be able to carry their horrid schemes into practice, is to be partly burnt and partly

carried into the ports of France, thus clipping, as they say, for ever, the wings of the *English Algerines*. In case of the failure of the expeditions to Ireland and to the East Indies, and in case of a peace with the continental powers, an attack will be made on England. The French Directory will sacrifice 100,000 men in the attempt, and they are to live at free quarters, as Buonaparte did in Italy, with this difference, that very little restraint will be laid on the soldiery, either as to pillage or morality.

The means for landing these men are the various kinds of shipping and small craft in the different ports of France and Holland, from the Texel to Havre de Grace; and the time will be the long and stormy nights in the winter season.

Mr. Marshall to Lord Castlereagh.

Reddish's Hotel, St. James's Street, October 26, 1798.

My dear Lord—I returned from Stanmer this morning, in company with Mr. Pelham, and found upon my table your Lordship's kind letter.

Mr. Pelham, though still better, is not yet well enough to return to Ireland. He is taking bark, and under a course of bathing, which he very unwillingly interrupted in order to come to town for a day or two to see the Chancellor, the Duke of Portland, &c. He will go back to Stanmer on Sunday next, and then I hope to be at liberty to return to Ireland. Elliot is in town, and Mr. Pelham is now with him at your Lordship's house.

I do not yet know the result of the Cabinet, and I am afraid that I shall not be able to learn it before the post goes out.

I believe that, by some accident, the Lord-Lieutenant has forgotten to write to the Duke of Portland for the King's letters relative to the vacant Bishopric, and the consequent arrangement.

I beg my best respects to Lady Castlereagh, and remain, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithfully,

ROBERT MARSHALL.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

October 27, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—I am afraid you can hardly excuse me for being very undeserving of your very great punctuality in correspondence. I thank you for your letter of the 15th. I received it at Holwood, and took care that Pitt should understand the delicacy of your sentiments without reading to him the letter. It is impossible you should stand better with him than you do. Pelham has just been with me. I understand the decision of his mind will be to relinquish the situation, and then, I trust, no great difficulty will occur here, from Lord Cornwallis having expressed so very strong a wish in your favour.

Mr. Pitt is inclined most strongly to the U[nion] on a Protestant basis. We have made little progress in our deliberations. Ever yours,

C.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Cleveland Square, Saturday, October 27, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—As I am going into the country for a few days, I shall write a few lines by this post, though I have nothing of importance to communicate.

Pelham came to town yesterday, and looks perfectly well. The least business, however, fatigues him; and, though I understand his physician has no doubt of the perfect re-establishment of his health in the course of two or three months, yet he has *now* by no means a sufficient degree of strength to justify the resumption of his office. He entertains this opinion himself, and has been prevented from forming his final reso-

lution on the subject, partly by the urgent solicitation of the Duke of Portland, and partly by an idea that the King wished his return to Ireland. He has also felt very anxious that your succession to him should be completely ascertained previous to his resignation. We propose going to Bulstrode tomorrow; but I am confident the Duke will throw every impediment in the way of Pelham's decision, and that he will not act upon it until the next meeting of the Cabinet, which will probably not take place till the middle of the next month. There was to have been a meeting on Irish affairs on Wednesday last, but so few of the Ministers came to town, that nothing was done, and even those few have returned to the country. The moment Pelham's final decision is made, you may depend on hearing from me.

From Bulstrode I mean to go with Pelham to Brighthelmstone, and pass a day or two with him and Lord and Lady Camden.

W. E.

The public attention has been much attracted by the censure on the members who composed the Court-martial on Wollaghan. There are some persons here who think the dissolution of the Court too strong a measure; but it appears to me that the acquittal was so grossly in the face of the evidence, that no punishment could be too severe for the conduct of the Court.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, October 29, 1798.

Sir—I have been favoured with your letter of the ——, enclosing the copy of one from the American minister to the Duke of Portland, relative to the Irish State Prisoners. The necessary orders have in consequence been given to prevent any of these persons from proceeding to America, till the King's farther pleasure be signified on the subject. I fear these gentlemen are yet likely to prove an embarrassment to

us. Exclusive of the eighty, whose names are set forth in the Banishment Bill, from 200 to 300 persons (some sentenced by Courts-martial on condition of banishment for life, others against whom prosecution was discontinued from doubts entertained of the evidence against them being sufficient to convict them upon it) are now confined in different parts of the kingdom; a proportion of those in Dublin and a few of them in the provinces are the active and intelligent heads of the party: the remainder are inferior, insignificant persons, very little formidable from their talents.

I understand the leading traitors are as averse to a residence in America, as Congress can be to receive them. The Directory in Kilmainham describe the tyranny of the American Governments as not less grievous than their own, and speak of Adams[1] and Mr. Pitt in terms of equal respect; the others look to America as the only part of the world where they can settle themselves with any advantage, and I believe are in general sick of political enterprise.

It is perfectly natural that America should be very jealous of receiving Irish convicts; but, unless she prohibits emigration from this country altogether, she will infallibly receive United Irishmen, and the majority of our prisoners are not more dangerous than the general class of American settlers. Were it not that the loyal would be disgusted and indignant at their being at large in this kingdom, the greater part of them might be discharged on bail without much danger to the State.

It would be very desirable, for many reasons, to get rid of them as speedily as possible, as it is difficult to confine them with the necessary precaution; and the expence of this regiment of traitors exceeds five-fold that of the best regiment in the King's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

[1] John Adams, the then President of the United States.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Private. Dublin, October 29, 1798.

Sir—I understand from Captain Taylor that he has transmitted to you the substance of the intelligence this day received from the West. I forbear repeating it. If the commander of the Fox is founded in his report of the ships being French, the squadron corresponds in number, though not in point of description, with the Dunkirk squadron, which, from the Scotch accounts, appears to have passed northward some days since. If they are really enemies, I do not expect to hear of their landing a man.

Many thanks for the intelligence from the Mediterranean. The secret intelligence communicated by one of the crew of the Anacreon has been received. I shall have proper inquiry made on board any of the prizes which may arrive in the ports of this kingdom for the persons stated to have sailed with the Brest expedition: his account of the names assumed by the traitors who accompanied Humbert is correct, though I may doubt La Roche being Byrone; he was dismissed by Mr. Cooke, with the other officers, having satisfied him that he had been born in France of English parents. I am told there is an Irish priest of the name of Long amongst the officers sent from hence to Liverpool. I hope to send you a description of his person in a few days.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Marshall to Lord Castlereagh.

Reddish's Hotel, St. James's Street, October 29, 1798.

My dear Lord—I had nothing satisfactory to write about last Saturday; and this day I am obliged to say the same thing. Mr. Pelham and Elliot went to the Duke of Portland's at Bulstrode yesterday, and returned to town this

morning. They have just left me. Mr. Pelham informs me that from the ministers not having yet been able to have a full meeting in London, things are still, with regard to a particular measure, nearly in *statu quo*.

With regard to Mr. Pelham's return *immediately*, it is quite out of the question, as he tells me, from the state of his health; and he thinks his return at a future day is uncertain.

I understand that Sir John Parnell is here, or, rather, at Hampstead, with his daughter. He has not seen anybody yet. I believe Mr. Pitt is very desirous of knowing from him what money is wanted for Ireland. Your Lordship will be glad to hear that Mr. Pitt will be able to raise so much of the supplies within the year as to have occasion to borrow only fifteen millions. From the tax upon income, he expects eight millions; from the convoy tax, two millions: and from the other subsisting taxes, the remainder of the supplies, all but the fifteen millions, which he is to raise by a loan.

Mr. Pelham understands that Sir John talks of going to Lisbon with Miss Parnell. If it should be so, he (Mr. P.) thinks it would afford a good opening for proposing to him the arrangement in question.

I remain, my Lord, very faithfully yours,

R. Marshall.

PS. Mr. Pelham recommends my postponing my journey to Wednesday next. He goes to Stanmer to-morrow. Mr. Elliot will write to your Lordship about some arrangements the moment they are all decided upon.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, October 30, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship enclosed, by the Duke of Portland's direction, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from Sir James

Craufurd to Lord Grenville, relating to the present plans and occupation of Mr. Duckett, who is still at Hamburg.

Advice was this day received at the Admiralty that two Dutch frigates full of troops had escaped from the Texel, bound for Ireland, and that one of them had been taken, after a short action, by his Majesty's frigate the Sirius, and that there were great hopes that the other would be taken also. The Loire, which has been brought into Plymouth by the Anson, is the frigate that engaged the Mermaid.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville, dated Hamburg, October 23, 1798.

I had the honour to receive by yesterday's post your Lordship's despatch, No. 17; and, in obedience to his Majesty's commands therein communicated to me, I shall abstain from any measures against Duckett, continuing, at the same time, to have him narrowly watched, which I hitherto have so completely, that there is scarcely a single step which he has taken since he has been at Hamburg with which I am unacquainted. His views for the present seem to be turned principally towards his Majesty's dockyards, and not choosing to venture in England himself, he is very desirous of getting over hither some one of those evil-disposed persons whom he knows to be employed in the dockyards, for the purpose of concerting with him the means of setting them on fire. He pretends to be entrusted with a considerable sum of money for this purpose by the Directory; but I believe him in this respect to exaggerate greatly, though undoubtedly, if he could hold out any reasonable plan to the French Government, pecuniary means would not be wanting. Not but that he is in very little esteem in France, and is particularly ill with Talleyrand. His principal supporter is Brueys, brother to the deceased admiral, and who was Minister of the Marine. He pretends that, in

case of a successful attempt on the part of the French to land in Ireland, his object would be to get over to that country; but I have not hitherto been able to learn any particulars respecting his commission. He affects much secrecy, even with those with whom he lives in the greatest intimacy. He has of late been in correspondence with Holt, the Rebel chief, who, through him, has been pressing the French for assistance. He says that there are 3500 land troops on board the squadron which lately sailed from Brest, but that they have French uniforms for 7000 men, with the view, as he pretends, of clothing the first bodies of Irish that might join them in the same way as their own troops, and thus, a numerous body appearing in French uniforms, of impressing the Irish nation at large with an idea that they had landed a considerable force.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, October 31, 1798.

Sir—I have the honour to inform you that it appears the French squadron sailed from Killala Bay, on the morning of the 28th. The Canada, Foudroyant, Mermaid, and Hazard, sailed from Lough Swilly on the same day, at two o'clock, in quest of them. The Annesley cutter, on the 26th, fell in with the Revolutionnaire, Naïade, the Sylph, ten leagues north of Killala; the next day saw the French ships anchor in Killala Bay. The Penguin sloop being in company, proceeded in quest of the above frigates, the Annesley for Lough Swilly, giving Sir John Warren the earliest intelligence.

Admiral Kingsmill informs me that Captain Home's squadron is still off the Stags of Broadhaven. Upon receipt of my letter, informing him of the enemy's arrival, he despatched Lord A. Beauclerk to join three frigates then cruizing between Cape Clear and the Shannon, with orders to go off Killala in quest of the enemy. Unless the French ships have taken a course direct to the westward, they must be met with.

I beg you will communicate the above information to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Pelham to Lord Castlereagh.

Stanmer, November 28, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—I have at last received by this morning's post the Duke of Portland's permission to inform you that I have declined returning to Ireland—a determination which the critical state of my health has forced upon me. I confess that I have long foreseen my inability to resume the labour you must now so well understand; but, as long as it was wished by those whose opinions I have the greatest respect for that I should delay the decision, I could not refuse compliance with their wish; knowing that in your hands the public service was losing nothing, and being assured by yourself that you were among the most strenuous in wishing for my return. I have not the presumption to attribute your continuance in so arduous and responsible a situation to motives of personal regard and friendship for me; at the same time, feeling how strongly these motives operated upon you in the commencement, I cannot help wishing that you should be strongly impressed with a notion of my gratitude, and the satisfaction I entertain in the prospect that this singular kind of connexion may be productive of the most lasting and intimate correspondence between us.

If I had returned to Ireland, it would have been my wish to have made our political and official connexion as close as possible, as Marshall has already explained to you. I can now only say that I shall sincerely rejoice in every opportunity of cementing our private friendship. I had mentioned this subject to the Duke of Portland, who approved of my plan entirely: it is needless to say more upon it at present, excepting as far as it is connected with another subject which I know you have much at heart—I mean, an English peerage.

I had an opportunity of expressing to the Duke of Portland my opinion of your claims to that dignity if the Union took place, and I had the satisfaction of hearing the Duke say, in the most unequivocal terms, that it was a thing to be expected that Lord Londonderry would aspire to; and that your conduct had established the claim beyond a doubt. You may suppose that I did not presume to say more, having no right to urge upon the score of private friendship what public services supported you in.

It will be necessary that we should make some domestic arrangements about my establishments at Dublin and in the Park. I enclose a letter to my servant, informing him that I shall not return to Ireland, which you will be so good as to send to him, when you choose to have my decision known. Marshall was kind enough to assist Lord Milton and me upon a similar occasion, and I am sure that he will feel as much disposed to give us his assistance.

Lord Camden promised to write to Lord Cornwallis, recommending a pension for General Budé: it was at the Duke of York's desire I applied to Lord Camden two years ago, and by some accident it was forgotten. The General was Sub-governor to the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, and, to the credit of the Duke and the General, the closest intimacy has subsisted ever since: he has a very small income, and, being in the Hanoverian service, the Duke can do nothing for him here, and the assessed taxes have obliged him to give up his carriage, which, at his time of life, is a serious inconvenience. I wish you would bring the subject before Lord Cornwallis, and, if you think it necessary or desirable, I will write to his Excellency; but I confess that I feel that I have very little claim upon him for favours at the moment of my quitting his service: at the same time, I wish you to understand that I feel no reserve or coldness to him, or any scruple about acknowledging an obligation to him.

Marshall and Aldridge are, I hope, beyond anything but my

good wishes, which they will ever possess in the highest degree. Elliot is in the house with me, and I have shown him this letter as far as I have written, which it is necessary that I should mention, in order to account for the conclusion of this letter, which he will not see. You would otherwise naturally expect that, if I had any wish about Elliot, it should precede every other: Elliot, as you know, was thought of for the office of Chief Secretary, when Lord Camden first came over: his talents and his virtues I need not dilate upon in writing to you: my affection for him, my veneration for his character, and my attachment to him, must be so well known to you that you cannot doubt how much my interest and happiness is connected with everything that can promote his. At the same time, I know his delicacy to be such that I have never ventured to ask him whether he wished for anything. He has a small, independent fortune, to which an addition could not but be acceptable; and, as all his predecessors in office have received some permanent establishment, it would give me very sincere satisfaction and comfort, if I could be instrumental in obtaining for him the offer of some employment that he might retain after he quits his office. Upon this subject also I wish you would communicate with Lord Cornwallis: I will write to him upon it, but, in my first letter, I did not like to have the appearance of importunity, even upon this subject, which, I am sure, you will agree with me in thinking requires no apology.

Be assured that I am, &c.,

T. Pelham.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Stanmer, November 2, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Pelham did not receive until this morning the Duke of Portland's permission to announce to you the result of our visit to Bulstrode. He has, however, I find, written to you so fully on this point by to-night's post, that I have nothing to add, except to express the sincere satis-

faction I receive from knowing that the loss of his services is to be supplied in the only manner in which it could have been effectively repaired.

I rode yesterday to Brighthelmstone, to see Lord and Lady Camden. The public mind is more alive than I could possibly have imagined to the proceedings of the Court-martial on Wollaghan; and I really hope you will furnish me with a brief, from which I may speak on the subject.

At present, I have no other information than that which I have collected from the newspapers; and from this source of intelligence I have formed an opinion very different from that which seems to be generally entertained. The verdict appears to me to have been so directly repugnant to the whole tenour of the evidence, that I cannot help attributing it to some political or party motive; and, if there is any foundation for this conjecture, Lord Cornwallis appears to me to have acted most judiciously in so severely censuring and discountenancing the conduct of the Court. It is more than ever our policy to preserve and maintain the character of our military tribunals.

Farewell. I am in great haste, and have only time to add that I am, &c., W. E.

[Indorsed—In Mr. Huskisson's, November 2, 1798.]

Information received from Mr. Lawrence Grenager, a native of Norway, but who is now settled in and married to a woman of Guernsey.

That, when a prize-master to a vessel captured by the Dublin Volunteer, a privateer fitted out of Guernsey, he was made a prisoner by a French brig and conducted to Bayonne, where he was confined in prison: that, on the 25th of August last, he made his escape and proceeded to Bilboa in Spain, where he found a Danish vessel, the master of which received him on board and took him to the Isle of Rhé, where they took a load of salt. That an embargo was laid on the vessel, and she was

prevented from leaving the place from the 5th to the 15th October last, owing to seven frigates intending to sail from Rochelle, with, it was said, 1200 soldiers on board, for Ireland —that he actually saw the seven frigates with troops sail the 12th instant;— that he heard they were to coast along Spain, to avoid the English cruizers;—that, on the 15th following, the Danish vessel was permitted to leave the Isle of Rhé, and he came on board off Portland, where he landed the 25th of this month; the vessel then proceeded on her voyage—that when at the Isle of Rhé he heard twelve French frigates were fitting out with the utmost expedition at Bourdeaux, and were to sail with troops and carry them to Ireland, and also that many more ships were to sail from Brest with troops for Ireland, in addition to those already gone there—that 12,000 men were raising (of the new requisition) about Rochelle to serve as soldiers.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Secret. Dublin Castle, November 3, 1798.

Sir—I understand from Captain Taylor, that Lord Cornwallis has been pleased to recommend an arrangement in favour of Major Sirr, highly advantageous to his interest. The services Major Sirr[1] has rendered to the King's Government, since I have been in office, are such as to make me feel it an incumbent duty to bear testimony, in the strongest terms, to his merits.

From the want of any efficient system of police in this city, he has been constantly employed confidentially by Government, on every occasion which called for great personal exertions, discretion, and courage; his life has frequently been exposed, particularly in the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I can truly state that, during the most trying period of public danger, the metropolis was peculiarly indebted for its tranquillity to

[1] Major Sirr was Town Major of the city of Dublin, and Mr. Swan assistant or second Town Major.

the unceasing activity of Major Sirr, assisted by Mr. Swan, who so nearly lost his life in that same struggle, which proved fatal to Mr. Ryan, and in which Major Sirr was exposed to very imminent danger.

Permit me to request that you will communicate the above to the Duke of Portland, and assure his Grace, that the King has not a more faithful officer than Major Sirr in his service.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Brighthelmstone, November 4, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—Letters from Pelham and from Elliot will have informed you of Pelham's having declined to return to Ireland: I did not, therefore, think it necessary to write to you upon the subject. I understand Lord Cornwallis feels as he ought to do towards you. Mr. Pitt is disposed, as much as possible, to your appointment; and, although I believe there are others who entertain strong prejudices against the appointment of an Irishman to be Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, yet your merits will, I doubt not, overcome these objections.

And, now the field seems to be open to you, I hardly know how to congratulate you upon it, not from any fear of your [not] doing yourself credit, as far as your own ability is concerned, but from the great difficulty you will have to contend with.

By a short letter I wrote to you, you may have perceived the opinion I entertain of the letter written by Captain Taylor to General Craig.[1] I think the ends of justice would have been com-

[1] The letter addressed by his Excellency's directions to Sir James Craig, President of the Court-martial, by his Private Secretary, was as follows:

Dublin Castle, October 18.

Having laid before the Lord-Lieutenant the proceedings of a Court-martial held by your orders in Dublin Barracks, on Saturday the 13th instant, of which Colonel the Earl of Enniskillen is President, I am

pletely answered by a disapprobation of the sentence, was the case perfectly clear; and the warmest advocate for discipline must have been satisfied with the farther step of dissolving the Court-martial: but, to add that no member who had sat on that Court-martial should be chosen for the future ones, is very severe. I have, from the first moment of reading the sentence, felt upon it as I now do, and my sentiments are by no means changed. How long is it, my dear Lord C., since *we* ordered an exclusive armament of supplementary yeomen in the North, and of Mr. Beresford's corps in Dublin? How many months have elapsed since we could *not decidedly* trust any bodies of men but those who are now so highly disapproved of. That the violence of some of the partisans of the Protestant interest should be repressed, I believe you know I sincerely think, but that a condemnation of them should take place will infinitely hurt the English interest in Ireland. All these circumstances make me feel less rejoiced than I should otherwise do at an event which you so much deserve, and I am truly sorry that my feelings and my reflections both urge me to write as I have done upon this subject. I hardly know how

desired to acquaint you that his Excellency entirely disapproves of the sentence of the above Court-martial, acquitting Hugh Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the clearest evidence, he appears to have been guilty.

Lord Cornwallis orders the Court-martial to he immediately dissolved, and directs that Hugh Wollaghan shall be dismissed from the corps of yeomanry in which he served, and that he shall not be received into any other corps of yeomanry in the kingdom.

His Excellency farther desires, that the above may be read to the President and members of the Court-martial in open court.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Lieut.-General Craig. H. Taylor, Sec.

PS. I am also directed to desire that a new Court-martial may be immediately convened for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them, and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Wollaghan be admitted as members.

to write it under your circumstances; but I rather conjecture, from your silence, that your opinion on this letter is not widely different.

The great question of Union will be hurt by this measure, as, however *unjustly*, it will indispose, I fear, a very important party to whatever seems to be a favourite measure of Government. The last attempt at invasion is only what could have been desired. I think you are safe for some months, but I do not think the French will give up their attempts.

I go to town in about a week, in order to be in the way at the meeting of Parliament.

Ever believe me most affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Brighthelmstone, November 4, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Your letters of the 27th and 29th of the last month reached me yesterday. The new invasion does not alarm us. Our only apprehension is, that the French, on learning the fate of the former expedition, will quit the coast, and, by stretching themselves westward, escape our cruisers.

Complaints have come from Ireland in various letters. They have not been addressed immediately to any of the Ministers; but, nevertheless, they will indirectly produce effect. If the Ministers here co-operate with Lord Cornwallis steadily and cordially, the firmness and integrity of his character will, I am persuaded, easily overcome the little petulant factions with which he is now embarrassed. If he receives only a languid and feeble support, and should ultimately retire in disgust, I, for one, shall most sincerely lament the injury which the Empire will sustain from such an event.

As Lord Cornwallis must be too much occupied to write to England frequently himself, I cannot help thinking it might be advisable either that Taylor should prepare despatches for his

signature, containing the detail of all events, or that you should take the correspondence wholly into your own hands. There is a great thirst for Irish news, even on the most trivial occurrence, and, if the Ministers do not receive it from the Castle, they may obtain it through channels which do not always convey their intelligence with representations the most friendly to the Irish Government.

There is nothing new on the subject of the Union. I believe I forgot to tell you that Lord Sheffield had, in the beginning of the last week, a letter from the Speaker, not written in the best humour. He also, I understood, wrote to Mr. Pitt, in answer to his invitation, and referred him for his sentiments to a long letter which he had addressed to Lord Auckland. It appears very dubious whether he will be prevailed on to come to London. I do not know the contents of his letter to Lord Auckland, but believe he is adverse to a Union.

Farewell. I shall sleep to-night at Reigate, and shall be in town to-morrow. If I should have any thing worth communicating, I will write to you from thence; but I am merely going on private business, and do not propose staying more than a day. None of the Ministers are in town except Windham, who came from Norfolk only a few days ago, and I have not yet seen him. Dundas has been indisposed on his way from Scotland, and, I believe, is not yet arrived.

Believe me ever, &c.,

W. E.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, 5th November, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the Admiralty has received a regular account of the capture of the two Dutch frigates which are brought into Grimsby Road. The Furie had on board 165 French troops and 4000 stand of arms; the Waakzamheid, 122 French troops and 2000 stand. They had been waiting their opportunity since

the 21st of July, and gave out that they were going to the West Indies.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Phœnix Park, November 7th, 1798.

My dear Lord—Yesterday morning I received a note from the Speaker, announcing his arrival in Dublin on his way to England, and offering to wait on me, according to my request, previous to his departure. He professed himself to be averse to the measure in question, but did not appear to speak in terms of violent hostility. I had afterwards a conversation with him on the subject of his dissatisfaction, which terminated very amicably, and we shook hands and parted very good friends.

I had written so far when the letters of the three English mails were brought in, and I opened one from Mr. Pelham, notifying his resignation of his office. You well know my wishes about the succession, and I shall by this night's packet repeat my earnest request on this point.

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Thursday Night, November 8.

My dear Lord—I have the greatest pleasure in transmitting the enclosed extract of a letter which I have just received from the Duke of Portland, and which I have barely time to send to the post.

Yours very sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

Extract of the Duke of Portland's Letter.

3rd November, 1798.

But, as this employment cannot remain vacant, the estimation in which your Excellency appears most deservedly to

hold Lord Castlereagh, and the preference you have given me to understand you should think him entitled to, in case the melancholy event which I have stated to you should take place, make me conclude that it will prove most agreeable to your Excellency to desire him to accept the office, the duties of which he has so well discharged during Mr. Pelham's illness. The experience also which his Majesty has of Lord Castlereagh, by the proofs he has given during that period of his talents and abilities, and the general good character he possesses, have disposed his Majesty to command me to signify to your Excellency, that, if you incline to give Lord Castlereagh the appointment of Chief Secretary, it is a measure which will have the full sanction of his Majesty's approbation, and I take the liberty of adding, that there appears to me every reason to believe that it will contribute as much to the credit of your Excellency's administration as to your own personal satisfaction and the ease of your mind.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Castle, 8th November, 1798.

My dear Lord—No packet—Captain Taylor tells me he is going away. Hewgill is to be Deputy Barrack-master-General in England, and the Duke of York has sent for Taylor. This is not yet public. Lord Cornwallis will let Taylor go so soon as he is provided. I like Taylor much, and am therefore sorry to lose him.

I shall wish your Lordship to think very seriously indeed of your situation. My opinion is, that affairs here are growing more politically unsettled from day to day.

Nothing is yet determined by the Bar as to the meeting on the Union question. I yesterday fought Saurin against meeting in uniform, which he was *up* to.

I have nothing curious from England.

I have not time to-night to fulfil my imprudent promise.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Since writing the above, the packet is arrived, but I have no letters.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, 8th November, 1798.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, the enclosed extract of a letter, containing some intelligence which is derived from the most authentic source.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter.

8th November, 1798.

Maguire, Hamilton, Corbet, and Delaney, are certainly with Tone and Lewens, and perhaps Lowry, who goes by the name of Black, and Bailey. When Tandy refused to take them in his expedition, they were divided whether to go to the Texel or Brest.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Cleveland Square, Friday, 9th November, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Though I have little chance of saving the post, yet I shall write a few lines this evening, because I propose going into the country early to-morrow morning. I have, however, very little to communicate.

A Hamburg mail, just arrived, brings a report, which is credited by Government, of the march of a French army into the Grison territory. Whether this event will call forth the exertions of the Emperor seems uncertain. His infatuation in having permitted the last two months to elapse in perfect

inactivity bereaves one of the hope of any effectual co-operation from him.

The Chancellor must be by this time arrived in Dublin, and you are therefore acquainted with all that is to be known on the subject of the Union. I have had a very full conversation with Mr. Dundas, who, I am glad to find, preserves that *enthusiastic* confidence in Lord Cornwallis which he has always entertained. He is for a Union on the broadest basis, if the measure shall be deemed feasible on that principle; and his judgment of the practicability of it will depend on the opinion which Lord Cornwallis may be prepared to give on that point. He thinks also that Lord Cornwallis's sentiments will ultimately have much weight in Mr. Pitt's determination.

Sanguine expectations are entertained at the Admiralty that Commodore Home has intercepted the French squadron; but there is yet no official account. The naval department is this year as much distinguished by its economy as by the splendour of its achievements. The expenses of the Navy are more than five hundred thousand pounds below the estimate.

Farewell. Pray remember me most kindly to Lady Castlereagh. I shall be absent from town some days.

Ever yours most truly,

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Secret. Dublin, 9th November, 1798.

My dear Lord—I was happy your official notification arrived last night. Under all circumstances, I think your Lordship a bold man, and I hope you will be a successful one. What you have already experienced, and what I wrote to your Lordship of Lord Cornwallis's sentiments in expressing himself to the Speaker, prove that you have no pliant twig to manage. Another point is, that Lord Cornwallis does not

seem to have any clear and determinate scheme and purpose, though he may have general inclinations. I think he would not like to attack the French without an army. How can he then hope to manage a nation without advisers, friends, and supporters? I think he is gradually letting the public mind slip away from him, and the hearts of the loyal to cool. I think he suffers a false impression to be made and to be given of his conduct, contrary to his real sentiments. You will, therefore, have much difficulty to encounter, and you have but little time. I hope you will take advantage of the few days' leisure you have to put down upon paper all queries which occur to your mind on all subjects likely to occur.

As to Union, I think the cry seems generally against it. The lawyers are at present quiet, conceiving it abandoned. The Catholics seem inclined to it, I suppose because the Protestants are averse. I think M'Kenna could write a good pamphlet in favour of it.

I hear that, in England, they certainly mean to purchase the Tithes as the Land-tax was purchased. Suppose the Tithes three million a year—at 30 years' purchase, 90 million; 60 would purchase 100 in the three per cents, which would be the annuity of the Tithes, and the overplus of 30 million would supply the Budget. I suppose some such scheme. Would it apply here?

Tone is to be tried to-morrow. He rests his defence on being a French officer, and Lord Kilwardin wishes he had been tried at Derry.

I am afraid these perpetual court-martials while the courts are sitting will become a subject of debate—they *are* of conversation. I heard Curran intended a motion in the King's Bench on the subject.

Captain Nixon, of the Yeomanry, is to be tried immediately for shooting his prisoners. It is most unlucky, and will make a noise. I hear he will object to the court as not composed of Yeomen only, according to the Act.

Holt means to surrender. Lord Monck was with Lord Cornwallis on the subject. Lord Cornwallis said he could promise no terms; but, if he surrenders after any conversation between Lord Cornwallis and Lord Monck, how can he be executed? I saw Lord Cornwallis to-day, who mentioned the subject; I suggested the danger of letting him surrender, though no terms were offered him.

I think it appears we shall have further expeditions from France. Hardi was in hopes that Sir John Warren was the Texel fleet. They say their attacks on the North are to lead us off from their main object—Cork.

I beg leave to use this opportunity of assuring your Lordship that, if I can be of any service in any way, it will make me most happy to be honoured with your commands, as I feel myself most sincerely, &c.,

E. Cooke.

Lord Castlereagh to Major-General Goldie.

Mount Stewart, November 9.

Sir — I am sorry there should have been any delay or difficulty in removing persons of the description alluded to in your letter, from the country; but, having received the most precise orders from the English Government on the subject, I cannot presume to authorize the embarking of any of the prisoners now in custody till the King's further pleasure is signified.

In the mean time, it will be necessary to detain those now in actual custody, as it is by no means the Lord-Lieutenant's intention to suffer them to be at liberty, considering their detention and banishment as indispensable for the security of the country.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

Castlereagh.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, November 10, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to forward to your Lordship the enclosed letter, written by Mr. Theobald Wolf Tone, and found among General Tate's papers. If the handwriting can be established, it may be a material paper to produce and prove on Tone's trial; and it is in the possibility of its being made use of in that manner that his Grace wishes it to be submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant.

I have the honour to be,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS. Your Lordship will have the goodness to return the letter as soon as it shall have been done with.

Au Colonel Tate, Rue J. J. Rousseau, à Brest.

Petite Rue Roch Poissonniere, No. 7.
30 Nivose, An 5.

Dear Colonel—I was in hopes to have had a line from you before this. I have been now at Paris seven days, and I have not one syllable of news but what I have learned from the Gazettes. You know my old and laudable custom to ask no questions; so I can, of course, give you nothing but my own conjectures, and I am sorry to say they are not favourable to the probability of a second trial. The Government *may* take up our business again, but I much fear it: it is so easy to find fault *after* the event, and so easy to demonstrate that an Expedition which has actually failed could, by no possibility, have succeeded. Well, I will, if possible, think no more about it. I have acted all along to the best of my judgment; I have made great sacrifices (great in proportion to my means) in the cause of my country and the Republic; and, if we have not succeeded, I have the consolation at least to think that it is not my fault. My mind is in a situation which I cannot describe; and, to aggravate my distress, I have just received

a letter from my wife, dated at Hamburg, where she arrived before Christmas, which gives me the most dreadful alarms as to her health; the remnant of my fortune is, by unforeseen circumstances, diminished *one half* since I saw you; but that is the least of my concern. In short, I am at present in a situation where I would recommend to my enemies, if I have any, to come and indulge themselves with the prospect.

I am here waiting the orders of the Minister at War. Perhaps I may be sent back to Brest, but I doubt it. In the mean time, I think, all desperate as I am, of your business. If it be taken up, and if I can get my wife and children once safe in France, I think more and more of taking a part in it. In that case, I may, perhaps (but God knows!) be of some use to you—at least, you may trust to my discretion, that, if I cannot be of use, I will, at least, be of no prejudice to you. If, therefore, you think proper, send me such papers and memorandums as may enable me to speak with information on this subject; for, I believe, if I do not deceive myself, I have a channel open by which I can come at the fountain-head. Perhaps my ill star may not always be in the mood to persecute me.

Send me, by return of the post, an exact list of all the vessels of all sorts which have returned from our unfortunate expedition. I learn this moment that General Hoche is arrived in safety at Rochelle; that is a great point gained!

Once more, if you think I can be of use to you in your affairs (to which, latterly, I turn my thoughts more and more), and if you have confidence in me, send me, without a moment's delay, such documents as may be useful, and I will stretch that string as far as it will go without cracking. Adieu, dear Colonel.

Yours truly,

J. Smith.

Direct to me simply *Au Citoyen Smith*. My address is at the top of my letter. Do not tell any one that I write to you.

On the absolute Necessity for a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.[1]

Cork, November 12, 1798.

Dear Sir—I was happy to see that the subject of a Union formed a considerable part of the last letter with which you honoured me, being every day more and more convinced that every true friend of both countries must grasp at the idea of making them one, as the only effectual means of securing the prosperity or duration of either. You will, therefore, permit me to enter a little more at large into this subject than I have hitherto done, that, if any ideas of mine may happen to strike you, they may be used in any way you may think proper for the furtherance of this grand object.

In addition to the arguments already used for the necessity of this measure, I have to add the following:—The actual relative situation of the two countries presents to every observant person a complete *inperium in imperio*—a legislative body within a legislative body, which are yet virtually independent of each other; I say *virtually*, for, though the refusal of the Royal assent to the Bills of either legislature be the means which theory may point out to prevent their clashing together, yet to resort to this measure in either country, at least in matters of importance, would be the signal of a civil war. The experiment has not been tried in England for a century, nor in Ireland since the Revolution of 1782, except, I believe, in one very trifling instance. The two countries then are, in fact, independent of each other, and the Irish Legislature is governed merely by what is called "English influence," *i. e.*, the interests of the members of either House *incline* them to fall in with the measures proposed by the British minister. These interests are partly of a public, partly of a private nature. The support of political power, and the

[1] There is nothing about this letter to indicate by whom or to whom it was written.

permanence of landed property in the hands of the present possessors, compose the former class of motives; the distribution or the expectation of the emoluments of office, of power, of dignity, of pre-eminence, constitute the latter. Were the former class of motives swept away by a union of all the parties, or of a great majority of all the parties, that distract this country, in one and the same great object, as, suppose a separation of the two Crowns; the effect of the latter class would certainly be too weak to preserve the connexion, even in the Irish parliament. The holders or expectants of place or dignity would be either induced by the prospect of higher situations in the new order of things to fall in with the voice of this great majority, or they would be obliged to do so from prudential considerations.

From all this, then, the following melancholy consequence may be deduced, viz., that the permanence of English interest in this country, and its subjection to the crown of Great Britain, depend entirely on the divisions that exist in it; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that these divisions are the bane of the country. The measure of a legislative Union alone, then, is adequate to annihilate these divisions, and, instead of risking the connexion by doing so, to confirm and consolidate it for ever.

But, it will be replied, such a coalescence of the three great parties that compose this country — Protestants, Dissenters, and Catholics—in the idea of a separation of the two countries, is a very unlikely event. Things may continue as they are for a great length of time, and the task of providing for future contingencies be left to posterity. To which I answer, that the event is *possible;* and, if so, then it is evidently the duty of our governors to take betimes, and by way of precaution, the most effectual steps to prevent even the possibility of so great a calamity; in a matter of such unspeakable magnitude, in which not only the prosperity but even the very existence of two great countries is involved, the most distant glimmer-

ings of danger cannot with safety be overlooked. The wisdom of political foresight anticipates the growing deluge, though it appears like "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand." Unfortunately, however, it is not the mere possibility, but the actual *probability*, of such a coalition of parties in this country, in order to effect a separation, that the English statesman has to guard against, and the Irish loyalist to apprehend; for the foundations of it are laid, and deeply laid, already. Of the four millions of inhabitants computed to exist in this country, at least three millions, on the lowest computation, are Roman Catholics, and upwards of half a million Dissenters of various denominations. Of these six-sevenths of the entire population, scarcely a man is to be found, who, if he has any political sentiments at all, does not wish for a Republic, or a Parliamentary reform, or the abolition of tithes and of the Church establishment, or for something or other which is not the present existing constitution.

Nor are the few remaining inhabitants—I mean, the Members of the Established Church—exempt from the general contagion; some of the principal leaders in the lately smothered rebellion being of that persuasion. It is very true, indeed, that of these six-sevenths very few are capable of apprehending distinctly what they would be at, with the exception, perhaps, of their pointed enmity to the Church Establishment, which, being a single object that clashes with their interests and prejudices in a variety of ways, is, therefore, easily seen.

But, though the mass of the people cannot be said to possess *political opinions*, yet they have *political feelings* almost to a man; and these very strong ones, too, which may, and, in fact, do, equally induce them to oppose the existing Government; and it is possible that the want of leaders only and the strong force at present acting in the country alone prevent them from renewing the Rebellion in a more formidable shape than ever. That the present enormous military establishment should be constantly kept up is next to an impossibility;

but that the common people of this country should acquire leaders, and leaders, too, of consequence and authority, is not only possible but exceedingly probable. Whenever the great body of the people are all of one way of thinking, they will, at the long run, induce the superior ranks to enter into their measures ; or, if the higher ranks are precluded by some paramount interest or peculiarity of situation from seconding the wishes of the great body of the people, they will raise up to themselves leaders from the sheepfold or the thrashing-floor, who frequently astonish the world with the splendour of their self-acquired abilities, and become, in the hands of an inscrutable Providence, the instruments of the most terrible national chastisements.

From all this, I think it evident that a union of parties in this island to effect a separation is already laid ; people of all descriptions have entered, actually entered, into such a conspiracy, and vastly greater numbers are inclined to do so, when the scheme shall acquire more consistence. The numbers in the higher ranks have, indeed, been but few, because the scheme is still in its infancy. But no reliance ought to be placed on this circumstance. In proportion as the situation of the Empire at large becomes more critical by the continuation of the war and the pressure of financial embarrassments, in the same proportion will converts flock in to the new system ; and the old and apparently sinking vessel will be deserted by rats of even the first magnitude in this country.

The foundation of a coalition of parties to effect a separation being already laid, it is utterly impossible to say how far the common enemy of Europe may not improve the disposition, and raise it up into a conspiracy formidable and dangerous to the very existence of the British Empire. Were a Union to take place, the fate of this country would be finally determined. French gold, French artifices, and French principles would come too late : nobody, however dissipated in conduct or debauched in principle, could possibly, with his eyes open, fall into their snares.

This country, being irrevocably formed into a part of the British Empire, the individuals of it who might be inclined to listen to the insidious insinuations of French agents would recollect that it is not Ireland alone, but the entire three kingdoms, that they must bring over to their system; that it is not the comparatively insignificant and often upstart members of a provincial parliament who are to be thus prevailed on to betray their king, but the great hereditary aristocracy of England. Force, indeed, may be had recourse to, as well after a Union as before, in order to separate the two countries. Our vigilant enemy, on any occasion offered, does not and would not confine her efforts to clandestine machinations only. But, on the supposition of a Union, with how much greater effect her efforts would be repelled, is evident to the most cursory reflection. The British Minister would no longer be obliged to attend to the vagaries of Irish politics with the same attention as he pays to the movements of the Directory; he would not be obliged to fight, party against party, and faction against faction, the Catholic against the Dissenter, and the Protestant against both, as is now absolutely necessary to do, if he wishes to govern Ireland. What an immense drawback this must be on the efficiency of his exertions in war must be principally known by those in the secret of affairs, but may very well be imagined by those who are not. How can he reckon on the assistance of Ireland in a great system of finance, for example? That Ireland should contribute in proportion to her means for the defence of the whole empire is a maxim of natural justice. That she does not do so at present, I am sure I cannot take upon me to affirm; but that she may not do so, if she pleases, is notoriously true. There is, therefore, no security in the connexion of Great Britain with her on the present footing; and, the moment that, in 1782, the independence of her Legislature was recognised, a Union or a separation became in the event *utterly indispensable*.

At that momentous period, the minister of the day committed

an act, which, if its *absurdity* is not counterbalanced by its pointing out the necessity of a Union, and rendering that measure absolutely necessary, will hand his name down to posterity as the "Sower of strife between nations." Without offering this country an incorporating Union, instead of the plaything of their independence, or should that have been declined, without insisting on any terms, compact, or covenant whatsoever, whether political or commercial, to serve as the means of keeping the two countries together, he rashly granted at once the independence of the Irish legislature, and (as mankind, when one point is gained, always stretch their views to another), perhaps laid the foundation of the present disturbances, and, if very great pains are not taken to prevent it, of the final separation and ruin of both countries.

But he had got a distaste of rigid maxims of Government by their failure in America; whereas, had these maxims never been exercised with regard to *that* country, and never been relaxed in *this*, except in consequence of a Union, or at least of certain stipulations for the mutual security of both, we should not see the former country separated for ever from the British Crown, and the latter in hourly danger of becoming so.

But, as it is an ungrateful, so it would be a useless task to recall past errors, if we are not inclined to profit by them; and I would fain ask the minister of the present day, whether a unanimity of the people of this country in favour of a separation be not an event as likely to happen some day or other, as was, at the beginning of this reign, their famous unanimity in '82, in demanding an independent constitution? In 1760, there was as little probability of their gaining an Octennial Bill, a free trade, and an independent legislature, as there is, now the rage of Democracy is gone abroad, of their being formed, in an equal space of time, into an independent Republic, yet the former events have taken place: that the latter will not, is the grand question for the solution of ministers.

If the Catholic and Republican party can convince the Protestant landholders that it is for their interest to join with them in endeavouring to effect it, the thing is done. Great Britain, with all her naval superiority, could not long keep this country, almost half as large as her own, in the manner of garrison by mere military force, and contrary to the will of the inhabitants, supported, as they would be, by every nation that envies her gigantic greatness, *i.e.*, by all the maritime powers, led on and animated by France. The present astonishing wealth and power of England are, it must be remembered, *factitious*, in a good measure, *i.e.*, the effect of superior industry, enterprise, and art. They seem to be at their very acmé of perfection. But advantages and acquirements of so very fluctuating and transitory a nature, if they cannot advance and increase, must recede and decline. Ireland, if *united*, would mightily tend to support, but, if *disunited* and dissatisfied, would act as a dead weight about the neck of the sister country, to plunge her with more rapidity into the gulph of mediocrity, if not of utter ruin, and to give room for the alternate scale of France to emerge from under the vast pressure of its antagonist's commercial superiority.

The new, dangerous, and dashing spirit (to use a vulgar phrase), that actuates the counsels of that political phenomenon, the French Republic, will, in the long run, force her competitor to adopt a somewhat similar line of conduct, in order to make head against her; to venture upon what, in ordinary cases and in common times, would be regarded as very precipitate and hazardous measures. If the salvation of the two countries depends on their being further united, the matter must be finished in a session; we must not sit down with our arms across, and muse and talk on the subject for a century, as the Scotch and English did, before they sanctioned a measure which has raised them to what they now are in the scale of nations. Long before a century shall pass away, democracy shall either have expired on the soil that gave it birth, or its

Gallic apostles have carried their propaganda into every corner of Europe. There is no medium. The ambition of the ephemeral leaders in a small republic is circumscribed and kept within bounds by its very impotence. But as, in this case, the vast resources and active energies of the most numerous, stirring, and formidable people in Europe, are wielded by men of the very first abilities and the most towering ambition, without which their situations were unattainable, it would be unreasonable to suppose that they should ever remain quiet for any length of time, that they should ever cease to foster rebellion in the neighbouring countries, or avail themselves of the strong party in their favour, which, if it does not always appear everywhere, is ready to start up on every prospect of assistance and success.

Already have they developed the scheme by which they mean to subjugate Europe, and climb to universal (I can't call it monarchy but) democracy, though, were I to give it its true name, I should rather call it *despotism*, for no countries are more severely used than those *subject to a Republic*.

In the short period of a few years, no fewer than five newly created Republics have started up, in order to defend, together with the Rhine, the most vulnerable parts of the frontier, from the Mediterranean to the ocean. Nor is it by way of defence merely that these new States appear formidable, though in this light they are truly so, as the Continental Powers must march either across them or the Rhine to attack France. They are besides so many craters, which the grand volcano (a better name than the great nation) has thrown up on its sides, to deluge with its doctrines and reduce under its dominion (or protection, as it is called) every neighbouring State that weakness may render an easy conquest, or that superior spirit and power may encourage to arrest its ambitious progress, or circumscribe its overgrown power.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, November 14, 1798.

My Lord—A person of the name of Doyle lately escaped from London, where a warrant had been granted to apprehend him, and set out for Liverpool, from whence he was to be conveyed by a friend, the master of a trading sloop, to the Wicklow coast. Among other papers printed here, he carried with him several thousand of the enclosed card, with the intention of distributing them among the United Irishmen in that County. Little is known of this Doyle here, except that he was upon the point of setting out for France a short time since, with a secret commission from the United Irishmen, but was prevented by the difficulty he found in procuring a passage.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, November 15, 1798.

My Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant has been pleased to communicate to me an extract from your Grace's despatch of the 3rd instant, which conveys his Majesty's approbation of my appointment to the office of Chief Secretary, in terms so peculiarly flattering, that I cannot resist troubling your Grace with my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

I should feel myself deeply indebted to your Grace, were you to take the earliest occasion of representing to his Majesty, in the most favourable terms, those sentiments of duty and obligation I feel and am most solicitous to evince, by the most diligent exertions in his service.

I condole with your Grace, not less on private than public grounds, that Mr. Pelham's state of health has not permitted him to return to Ireland: his talents and character were never of greater value to the King's interests in this kingdom, and I

should feel I had rendered his Majesty an essential service had Mr. Pelham, by my temporary discharge of the duties of his office, been enabled to resume his public situation.

Under the present circumstances, I have only to entreat of your Grace to receive with indulgence my endeavours to fulfil the trust confided to me, and I beg leave to assure your Grace that my constant efforts will be directed to merit and preserve your Grace's confidence and esteem.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, November 16, 1798.

Sir—On my return to town, Mr. Cooke put into my hands several communications, received from you during my absence, of which, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, he had acknowledged the receipt.

You will observe by the papers that T. W. Tone, having been sentenced by a court-martial to suffer death, on the morning of his execution cut his throat, so as to render his recovery very precarious. On the same day, Mr. Curran moved to have him brought up by a writ of Habeas Corpus, which was of course granted. The return made to the Court was, that he could not be moved from his place of confinement with safety to his life: in this situation, the matter rests. The opinion of the Crown lawyers has been taken, and they have advised, in case he is brought before the King's Bench, and that it is purposed, he being in custody of the Court, that he shall be disposed of under the Municipal Law, to inquire into his treatment, rather than bring the question of martial authority to a solemn decision, which would occasion delay, embarrass the Court, and perhaps expose the State to have its summary interference for its own prosecutions deferred in a manner injurious to the public safety.

When the Proclamation of the 24th of May, authorizing

martial law, was had recourse to, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, Lord Pery then suggested the expediency of passing a Bill to authorize the military authorities to try by court-martial persons engaged in the Rebellion, alleging that, without such a law, as the exercising of the power could only be justified by the necessity of the case in the strictest sense, and as much doubt and difference of opinion might arise upon what circumstances constituted the necessity so required, he thought it safer to legalize the proceeding by a temporary statute than to expose the parties exercising those powers to the necessity of coming to Parliament for indemnity.

Whilst the Rebels were in the field in force, the necessity of punishment by military tribunals was so obvious as not to admit of a question: indeed, the degree of public danger was then such as to preclude the ordinary courts of law from sitting. Latterly, the Rebellion has degenerated, particularly in the Counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, Westmeath, and Dublin, into a petty warfare, not less afflicting to the loyal inhabitants, though less formidable to the State. In those Counties, the number of persons taken in the commission of the most shocking crimes, still acting upon treasonable and systematic principles, has been such, as to render it impossible to trust to the usual administration of justice for the punishment of the offenders: indeed, in Wicklow and Wexford, it has been found altogether impracticable to hold the Assizes. The situation of the district above alluded to, as also those parts of Connaught which were disturbed at the time of the late invasion, has compelled my Lord-Lieutenant to punish summarily by martial law, at the same time that the general state of the kingdom admitted of the courts being opened in the metropolis, and of the Judges going their circuits in other parts of the kingdom, as formerly.

The two jurisdictions being in activity at the same time, could not well fail to clash sooner or later, as has happened in Tone's case. His conviction will be effected, with equal cer-

tainty, by civil as by military law, his trial being had in the metropolis, where the courts are open, and, under the circumstances of the case, it is not of that description upon which it would be expedient to bring the matter to issue; but it certainly deserves to be well considered, should the country remain unsettled for any length of time, whether both jurisdictions are not requisite, and if so, I do not see how they can proceed together without embarrassment, unless Lord Pery's idea is adopted, under such restrictions as may be thought necessary. It was before resisted upon the principle that there was less violence done to the Constitution in giving indemnity to those who have acted illegally for the preservation of the State, than in enacting laws so adverse to the usual spirit of our legislature. This consideration prevailed; and, were the struggle but of short duration, perhaps the inconvenience would be trifling; but if it is to be procrastinated, which there is but too much reason to apprehend may be the case in this kingdom, where religious resentment as well as principles of resistance are so deeply and extensively implanted, it is a question whether military authority, in some degree, is not requisite to keep society together; and, if so, the responsibility of doing an act which, in the eye of the law, is in strictness murder, is too weighty to be encountered in the prospect of future indemnity.

I trust, however, that the internal situation of the country may improve, now the prospect of foreign assistance is in a great measure at an end, and that we may be saved an alternative so unpleasant as that of yielding to this tormenting evil, rather than risk the adoption of a strong remedy, or of being driven to extend the powers of a military code to civil crimes, if crimes can be called civil which are invariably committed in arms.

I have troubled you with these suggestions as the hasty sentiments of my own mind on this question, which connects itself with Tone's case. When I venture to write without

much consideration what may meet the Duke of Portland's eye, I trust his Grace will receive it with indulgence.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential. Berkeley Square, November 16, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—I am extremely happy to be informed by Mr. Pitt, that the wish of the Lord-Lieutenant that you should succeed Mr. Pelham (since he has relinquished the situation of Secretary) had been acceded to by the King and his Ministers, and that the consent of the English Government had been communicated to Lord Cornwallis.

In my last letter from Brighthelmstone, I mentioned some circumstances which made me feel less happy upon this succession. I entertain the same opinion upon the subject there alluded to as I then did; but I will not detain you by any farther observations upon it. It will be my heartiest wish to render every part of your duty as little burdensome as possible, and to confirm the good opinion my colleagues already entertain of you.

You will have seen the Articles of Union which have been transmitted to Lord Cornwallis, together with the instructions which accompanied them. It appears to me that he is authorized to speak confidentially with the principal persons in Ireland, to apprize them of the outlines of the plan, and by that means so to pledge Government to the attempt as to impress the minds of those who are spoken to upon the subject with the idea of its being seriously intended to carry it by Great Britain. That it would have been wiser to have received the voice, and the conversation, and the influence of some leading characters, before this authority had been given, I have little doubt; but, since Lord Cornwallis is so far authorized, and, I doubt not, has committed himself, I conclude you have only one line to follow, viz., to talk a firm and decided lan-

guage; to find out, by as much address as possible, the expectations of individuals, and the objections of bodies of men; and to lose no time in securing the one, and counteracting the others.

I mentioned to the Ministers, this day, your proposition of coming to England, after having sounded the opinions and inclinations of individuals in Ireland; and it seems universally to be wished that you should undertake this journey. The Duke of Portland told me that he would write to that effect to Lord Cornwallis within one or two posts.

I have had, and Mr. Pitt has also had, a long conversation with Foster.[1] He is against the measure. He describes the public mind to be against it, and recommends delay. However, I conjecture, if he finds the measure determined upon here, he will not take an active part against it. I know how important a man he is; and, if we fail of making an impression upon him here, you must gain him over in Ireland. I was very happy to hear him speak in the warmest manner of you, and rejoice in your appointment.

There are complaints of the want of communication from Lord Cornwallis, particularly by the Duke of Portland, but not only by him—Mr. Pitt feels it also. He certainly does not take upon himself any part of that duty, and Government here is not apprized, as it ought to be, of the events in Ireland. I told the Duke I was confident you would undertake to give constant information upon the interesting points which occurred, and which I should advise you to do; but that sort of communication is not as satisfactory as despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant, who is responsible for the good government of the country, and cannot delegate his authority to any one. Why cannot despatches be prepared for his signature? It has been always customary for the Secretary of State to be informed of every event by the Lord-Lieutenant.

[1] The Right Hon. John Forster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

Affairs upon the continent wear the most promising aspect, and I entertain a confidence that this kingdom will be able to restore peace to Europe upon some plan of permanent security.

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

It had been intended to mention the Union in the King's speech, but it has been struck out.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Dublin Castle, November 17, 1798.

Sir—Some circumstances in respect to regiments of English militia serving in this kingdom have been privately communicated to the Lord-Lieutenant, of which his Excellency thinks the Duke of Portland should be apprized. The impression, in certain of the corps, both of the officers and men, is, that their obligation of service in Ireland terminates with the English Act, which expires one month after the meeting of Parliament. It is stated that, in the North Gloucester, a very fine corps, now stationed at Drogheda, the expectation strongly exists of their being recalled, or permitted to return, after that period. This impression is founded, I understand, upon the Act having been read to the men upon parade, before the offer of service was made, and the shortness of the period rather held out as an inducement. The desire of returning to England, now that invasion seems less probable, is so natural a feeling, that it may affect the whole or a very large proportion of that force, which must have so salutary a political influence in Ireland at the present moment, exclusive of the security it affords against the foreign enemy.

The Lord-Lieutenant is the more apprehensive of the inconvenience that may arise from this feeling, as he has understood that the Marquess of Buckingham has expressed an intention of applying to have his regiment recalled. The example of so

high a personage, and of a corps which first landed, cannot fail to have a powerful influence upon the conduct of the body at large.

His Excellency trusts this sentiment is not so deeply implanted in the minds of the soldiers as to be productive of serious inconvenience to the King's service, and feels confident that the zeal and patriotism both of officers and men will determine them to conform to his Majesty's wishes: at the same time, having received the above intelligence, he is desirous that the King's Ministers should foresee the possibility of some difficulty arising at the period when the English Act shall expire. Not having had time to inform himself very accurately on this subject, his Excellency postpones writing to the Duke of Portland, for the present.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Secret. Whitehall, November 24, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to forward to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency, the enclosed very curious and interesting report of the state of the preparations in Brest harbour, during a period commencing the 19th October and ending the 16th inst.

There exist many reasons why the general tenour of this report should be kept extremely secret.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of the principal Movements at Brest since the sailing of the division under Bompart for the coast of Ireland, to the 13th of November, inclusive.

Brest, October 19. A lugger came in, with information that it had parted on the 17th, in the evening, with the division from Rochefort, of three frigates, having on board 1500 chosen

troops, off the south-west coast of Ireland. They had learned nothing of Bompart's division. The frigates stood to the northward to their destination.

October 20. Orders were this day issued to complete, with all possible expedition, the following six ships to three months, of all species of provisions and six months of wine, viz., Le Formidable, 80 guns; Le Batave, 74 guns; La Constitution, 74 guns; Le Dix Août, 74 guns; Le Wattigny, 74 guns; and the corvette, La Réussite, that was launched the 18th. The crews of the foregoing have been completed from six ships ordered into the harbour: only two more will remain in the Road, viz., the Revolution and Berwick.

October 21. The Fougueux and Gaulois were forced to come in before the Zélé and Dix Août joined the other part of the division in the Road, as the latter two ships had *no cables*, and were supplied with those of the former.

October 23. The Indomptable was this morning ordered to be completed, and to join the division in the Road, now avowedly destined for Ireland. Artillery, stores, munitions, and troops are daily arriving and embarked: 12,000 men are ordered for embarkation, to be commanded by Kilmaine's major-general, who is not yet arrived. Most of the troops are already in the neighbourhood. They have been drawn from the garrisons on the coasts and interior of the province, where their places are supplied by detachments of Gendarmerie, and the Burgher Militia, and National Guards. Great uneasiness prevails respecting the fate of Bompart's division, which this is intended to go in support of.

October 24. The arrival of the frigate, La Romaine, and corvette, La Biche, last night, extremely shattered and mauled in battle, from the division of Bompart, has solved all doubts and thrown the town and port in great consternation, the immediate effect of which has been a universal desertion of all the sailors that were on shore, though every precaution was taken by the chiefs of Administration, that details of their defeat

should not be known. They state that all that were not taken were sunk, except three frigates, (of which themselves one) and the corvette, who escaped by good sailing from the most tremendous fire, that had forced the Hoche to make the signal of having 500 men *hors de combat*, before they struck her colours to the irresistible force of the Devils of the Sea. Such is the terror they have brought with them, that the very boat's crew that landed the officer to report have deserted, and are not to be found, the garrison and inhabitants conniving at those desertions.

November 1. Six thousand men, destined for embarkation, were, however, reviewed this morning, and orders given to redouble the vigilance with which the new armament is prosecuted, under direction of Citizen Querangal, commander of the Du Quesne. Many Irish prisoners of war have been brought from the interior, and embarked on those ships. Accounts are arrived from L'Orient of the arrival of La Semillante.

November 2nd. After a council, held on the arrival of an officer from Paris, the following ships were definitively ordered to compose the division, which is still avowed as intended for Ireland. Orders are given to complete them from the stores indistinctly taken from all other ships. The frigates intended to join this division are not yet named, but here follow the names of the ships: l'Indomptable, 80 guns; Le Formidable, 80 guns; Le Wattigny, 74 guns; La Constitution, 74 guns; Le Dix Août, 74 guns; Le Zélé, 74 guns. These six are all complete, and ready for sea. Le Jean Bart, 74 guns; Le Jemappe, 74 guns; Le Tirannicide, 74 guns; Le Jean Jacques Rousseau, 74 guns; Le Tourville, 74 guns; Le Montblanc, 74 guns, fitting with great activity. It is not yet known to whom the chief command by sea will be confided, neither is that of the troops definitively fixed. General Kilmaine or his Major-General are designated, but not yet arrived. An affected report has been immediately spread, that this expedition was intended for the Mediterranean. That perhaps

owed its origin to the arrival of two or three confidential officers of the staff of the Armée d'Angleterre from Rouen, where they had remained since their chief, Buonaparte, had taken another direction. The new corvette, hitherto intended to follow the division designed for Ireland, has been this day attached to the twelve ships in armament, with her name changed from Réussite to La Découverte.

November 13th. By orders arrived from Paris, the day before yesterday, that have begun to be put in execution, a general disarmament immediately takes place. The famous armament of the twelve ships, that so lately excited every extraordinary exertion, is *dismantling* with all expedition. They are almost all, *except the Wattigny*, completely unrigged, and orders have been given this morning to lift their shrouds and standing rigging, and to get their lower yards, fore and aft, on board, so as to put them in a complete state of ordinary. Signal was likewise made this morning to prepare to warp them to winter moorings up the harbour; only a guard-ship or two, and the cruising frigates, are destined to keep the Road this winter.

The Wattigny is completed to six months of every species of provisions, and has been chosen from her qualities of superior sailing to accompany the frigate La Cornélie, on a secret expedition, destined, as it is whispered at the bureaux, for the East Indies. They have embarked cases said to contain presents for the Sultaun Tippoo, that were brought here by the officers *ci-devant* attached to Berthier, who came here a few days ago. Eighteen thousand men, the *élite* of the army that had assembled about Brest, have received their marching orders to join the army under Jourdan, on the Rhine, by forced marches; the rest of the force cantoned near Brest retrograde to their former quarters on the coasts of the province. The gun-vessels and flat-boats, armed in its different ports, are all dismantling and hauling up in the rivers in places of safety, which would lead to judge at least that any considerable expedition by sea was given up for a time—although all the

commissaries and reviewing officers of the classes have just received orders to review immediately with great exactitude, and to make returns of all seafaring men that could be raised in their different *arrondissements;* and placards have just been affixed at Nantes, L'Orient, Brest, Morlaix, and St. Maloes, to invite proposals to be given in, to build by contract sixteen line-of-battle ships, eighteen frigates, and sixteen light vessels, or corvettes. A considerable number of Irish prisoners of war, some of whom, the less number, had been seduced and deluded, the others forced to embark for the last projected expedition to Ireland, have been landed again, and ordered from Brest to Valenciennes, to be exchanged. It is intimated to me that there are among them characters that it may be expedient to look after, if they should soon be exchanged; and I humbly submit this general intimation that I have received, as a hint for precaution against those who may have been at Brest.

St. Malo, November 16.—There is one of the frigates that have been building at Port Solidor these two years, finished and destined to be launched at the next spring-tides, after the 26th of November. A convoy of small vessels with corn left St. Malo for Brest two days since. No other movements on the neighbouring coasts deserving attention.

APPENDIX.

Mr. D. F. Ryan to the Marquess of Londonderry.[1]

Calais, August 9, 1848.

Perceiving that your Lordship has announced the Castlereagh Papers for publication, I humbly venture to transmit to you the following pages respecting the Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, his Death, and that of Captain Ryan. As this event has always been misrepresented, I have invariably refuted the published statements, but I have never till now furnished a full and perfect detail. Should your Lordship approve of any part of the enclosed, the insertion of it in your work would do justice to the memory of a brave and high-minded man, and gratify the feelings of

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

DANIEL FREDERICK RYAN,
Barrister-at-Law, formerly of Dublin,
and late Assistant Secretary,
Excise Office, *London*.

[1] This Letter, enclosing a Narrative of circumstances attending the Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Death of Captain Ryan, has just been sent to me by his son, Mr. D. F. Ryan. As I have no doubt of its perfect accuracy, I append it to this volume; to which it particularly belongs. See Lord Castlereagh's Letter to Mr. Wickham, of November 3, 1798, respecting the public services of Major Sirr and Captain Ryan, p. 423.

NARRATIVE OF

THE ARREST OF LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD, AND DEATH OF CAPTAIN RYAN.

In the year 1798, the numerous class of the disaffected in Ireland, though much disconcerted by the failure of their expectations from France, were so hard pressed by the vigorous and necessarily severe measures of Government, which had obtained intelligence of their plans, that they resolved no longer to delay making trial of their strength by arms. In the month of February, they formed a military Committee, which drew up instructions for their officers and commanders, but the great body of the lower class were wholly destitute of proper arms and accoutrements, for which they had relied on importations from France and Holland. Such, however, was their ardour, that they crowded to the standards of their chiefs, and during that and the following month the spirit of disaffection had spread itself over many of the Southern districts, whilst an active correspondence was carried on with those of the North. A general Insurrection had been determined on, in which the Castle of Dublin, the Camp near it, and the Artillery, were to have been surprised in one night, and other places were to have been seized at the same time. The disclosure of the plot, however, by one of the conspirators,[1] led to the seizure of fourteen of the Delegates at a house in Dublin; and the information of a militia officer,[2] who, it is supposed, had entered amongst them as a spy, produced other discoveries, which entirely defeated their design. Nothing now remained but an open appeal to arms, which, it was determined on, should occur on the night of the 23rd of May, but the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald prevented any outbreak in Dublin; though, on the 24th, the towns of Naas, Carlow, and, shortly afterwards, Wexford were vigorously assaulted.

[1] Reynolds to Cope, &c.

[2] Captain Armstrong: see the trial of the Shearses.

Sir Richard Musgrave's account of the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, although contemporaneous with the event, is too concise; this he promised to correct, as well as to explain the extent of Major Swan's participation in the transaction, but he did not live long enough to publish a second edition. Mr. Maxwell has published a History of the Rebellion of 1798, which, from its style, is evidently an *ex-parte* statement. That by Mr. Moore was undertaken without due consideration or information, as will appear from his letter dated 8th July, 1831, which was published in the *Times* and *Standard* newspapers, of the 9th January, 1839, in refutation of a very false account that was contained in the Life of the too notorious Thomas Reynolds.

Let me, for the benefit of the present generation, premise a few observations on the state of society in Ireland at the time of that Rebellion. At that calamitous period, treason and sedition had so inflamed the populace, that the safety of the loyalists and the Government depended entirely on the protection of the Yeomanry and the Army. In consequence of this widely extended disaffection, gentlemen of the highest rank and station were compelled to discharge the most menial tasks; upon one occasion, the High Sheriff of a County was forced to undertake the odious office of carrying into execution, with his own hands, the last sentence of the law. Hence it was, that we find, in the annals of that Rebellion, gentlemen in Captain Ryan's station concerned in the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, instead of the ordinary police agents who would now be employed in such services.

Although Lord Edward Fitzgerald remained in concealment near Dublin, from the 12th of March, yet it does not appear that any measures were taken for his capture, till the issuing of a Proclamation, dated the 11th of May, offering a reward for his person. After that, information was received that he and several of his confederated associates would pass through Watling Street on the night of the 18th of May. Mr. Cooke,

Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, having communicated this information and given instructions, Major Sirr and Captain Ryan, with another Volunteer friend, Mr. Emerson, and a few soldiers in coloured clothes, had a skirmish with them, when Major Sirr was fired at, and the whole party in danger from the desperation and violence of Lord Edward and his band of supporters; but Captain Ryan succeeded in securing John M'Cabe, a very active member of the Union, who was afterwards tried and executed. Unfortunately, in this affray, the strength of the party was divided; there being two approaches to the place, Major Sirr and Captain Ryan found it necessary to separate; and, from this division of their force, Lord Edward and his friends had the advantage of numbers over each of them during the encounter.

The Government were again informed that Murphy's house, in Thomas Street, had been selected as the place where Lord Edward was to conceal himself until he should give the signal for a simultaneous rising of the Rebel forces; his uniform was accordingly sent thither. The information stated the existence of a staircase, communicating between Lord Edward's bedchamber and the roof of the house, which, in case of surprise, afforded an easy mode of escape over the adjoining buildings, where a further retreat was prepared. This description of the premises is particularly necessary towards understanding that it was the knowledge of this means of retreat that led to Lord Edward Fitzgerald's desperation, and called upon Captain Ryan for the exertion of his calm and devoted courage.

On the 19th of May, (just four days before the intended Insurrection), a Secretary of State's warrant was directed to Town-Majors Sirr and Swan, and Captain Ryan, requiring them, with eight soldiers, to proceed to Thomas Street, to arrest Lord Edward Fitzgerald. On reaching the house, Major Sirr and the soldiers remained below to defend the house against the mob, while Captain Ryan and Major Swan ascended the staircase. Major Swan first entered Lord Edward's apartment,

and, on finding his Lordship, cried out, "You are my prisoner!" upon which the latter aimed a blow with his dagger at Swan, who parried it with his hand. The blade, after passing between the fingers, glanced along the side, inflicting a superficial wound, of which he recovered in about a fortnight. Swan, thus wounded, exclaimed, "Ryan, Ryan, I am basely murdered!" Captain Ryan, who had been searching another part of the house, on hearing this exclamation, immediately ran in, and, seizing Lord Edward, threw him back on the bed, where a violent struggle ensued, in which Captain Ryan received an awful wound in the stomach. He instantly started up, and attempted to use a sword-cane.[1] A most unequal contest followed, and lasted for about ten minutes, in the course of which Captain Ryan, unarmed, resolutely maintained his grasp of his prisoner, who, with desperate ferocity, inflicted wound after wound, to the number of fourteen.[2] Captain Ryan's hands being disabled, he clung round Lord Edward with his legs, and, though dragged through the room towards the door, effectually prevented Lord Edward's escape to the staircase; all this time, Lord Edward was unhurt, his opponent defenceless, nevertheless, he recklessly wounded, and brandished his awfully constructed double-edged dagger, worn for the express purpose of carrying death to any assailant. This horrifying scene lasted until the arrival of the soldiers, and was terminated by Major Sirr discharging a pistol at Lord Edward; the ball entered his shoulder, but even then, so outrageous was he, that the military had to cross their muskets and force him down to the floor, before he could be overpowered and secured.[3]

[1] Major Sirr, in 1839, handed this sword-cane to Captain Ryan's grandson.

[2] Sir Richard Musgrave, Moore, and Maxwell are silent on this point.

[3] Major Swan was, as all the writers on this occurrence agree, the first who met and was wounded by Lord Edward. It is said that he was found by Major Sirr grasping his Lordship; it is difficult to reconcile this with his not being again wounded, with his having received but two wounds; Captain Ryan's were fourteen.

By direction of Major Sirr, Lord Edward was removed in a sedan-chair to Dublin Castle, under a strong escort of military, who had been sent to support the small party at first employed on this important duty. In the Castle, every attention was paid to his Lordship's wound and situation, but he was afterwards removed to the prison of Newgate, under the obligation of the law, in reference to his crimes of treason and assassination.

It has been asserted that Lord Edward resisted the dressing of his wound, and, when it was done, tore off the bandages. Be this as it may, he was going on so favourably, that his recovery was fully expected;[1] but, having heard that Captain Ryan was dead, and feeling that there was no escape from the charge of murder, he declined rapidly in body and mind, and died on the 4th of June. His remains were privately interred at Werburgh's church. On the 27th of July, a Bill was brought forward for his attainder by the Attorney-General, and was passed, notwithstanding the opposing influence of the highest personages, even Royalty itself.[2]

Sir Richard Musgrave states that "Lord Edward had served with reputation in the 19th Regiment during the American war; that, on many occasions, he displayed great valour and considerable abilities as an officer, was esteemed for his frankness, &c."

"The brave and unfortunate Fitzgerald," says Theobald Wolfe Tone, "was meditating an attack upon the capital, which was to have taken place a few days after that on which he was arrested."

Dr. M'Nevin pays to the memory of his Lordship a tribute of still higher panegyric, perhaps it would be more correct to call it bombast. "The Irish nation could not sustain a greater misfortune in the person of any one individual, than befel it in the loss of Fitzgerald at that critical moment. . . . With unquestioned intrepidity, republicanism, and devotion to Ireland,

[1] Lord Henry Fitzgerald.—*Moore*, p. 132.

[2] The attainder was reversed in 1819.

with popularity that gave him unbounded influence, and integrity that made him worthy of the highest trust, had he been present in the Irish camp, to organize, discipline, and give to the valour of his country a scientific direction, we should have seen the slaves of Monarchy fly before the Republicans of Ireland, as they did before the patriots of America."

Moore acknowledges that the sacrifice of Captain Ryan's life caused the preservation of Dublin, and ruin to the hopes of the conspirators and rebels. "But still," he adds, "the Rebellion followed, 20,000 loyal men suffered, 50,000 rebels variously expiated their crimes."

The following letter, addressed to Mr. D. F. Ryan, and by him published in the *Times* and *Standard* newspapers, of the 9th January, 1839, and which was very generally copied by the press, will no doubt be read with interest:—

"Dublin, December 29, 1838.

"My dear Ryan—I received your letter, referring to the account given in the *Times*[1] newspaper of the taking Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and requesting to know whether I authorized that account as given.

"I know not anything how the occurrence took place in the room Lord Edward was discovered in; but, on my arrival in view of Lord Edward, Ryan, and Swan, I beheld his Lordship standing, with a dagger in his hand, as if ready to plunge it into my friends, while dear Ryan, seated on the bottom step of the flight of the upper stairs, had Lord Edward grasped with both his arms by the legs or thighs, and Swan[2] in a somewhat similar situation, both labouring under the torment of their wounds, when, without hesitation, I fired at Lord Edward's

[1] Extracted from the "Life of Thomas Reynolds."

[2] The friends of Captain Ryan did not conceive that Major Swan bore an equal part through the contest, though appearances might give a colour; the number of wounds relatively received was considered as proof of the respective exertions of Swan and Ryan.

dagger-arm, and the instrument of death fell to the ground. Having secured the titled prisoner, my first concern was for your dear father's safety. I viewed his intestines with grief and sorrow. I found a peaceful and hospitable habitation for him in a neighbouring house, Mr. Tighe's, and placed a guard over him for his protection. Swan was able to assist himself with the aid I afforded him, and I had him conveyed in a sedan-chair, which went in the procession with the prisoner,[1] &c., to the Castle, and thence conveyed him to his residence.

"Your dear father was a man of honour, and courageous, and often was a partner with me on dangerous and momentous occasions at that eventful period; and I trust he reigns in a heavenly mansion, not made with hands.

"I have by me your father's sword-cane, unsheathed, as I found it, which shall be yours, should you wish it.

"I agree with you relative to Lord Edward; he was considered a highly honourable man at Gibraltar, where I knew him when he was on a visit to the governor of that garrison.

"Remember me to your family in the kindest manner, and believe me, with sincerity and sincere regard, yours most truly,

"Henry Charles Sirr.

"D. F. Ryan, Esq., Excise Office, London.

"PS. I forgot to mention that Mrs. Reynolds and her son called on me some months ago, wishing to have some account of Lord Edward's affair. I told him what I knew, and could not have supposed that he would mention incorrectly my account. I knew nothing, as I said, as to what occurred in the chamber; my knowledge only went as to what I have now related, but I don't think he meant anything to hurt feelings.

"H. C. S."

Earl Camden, Lord Castlereagh, and the other members of the Government, sent the State surgeons, with every possible

[1] Murphy and all others found in the house were made prisoners.

assistance, and exhibited the most earnest solicitude during Captain Ryan's sufferings. All human exertions, however, proved unavailing; he died of his wounds on the 30th of May, and was interred as described in the *Dublin Journal* of the 2nd June, 1798. "The interment of the lamented Captain Ryan took place yesterday. Every loyal man in the City, not immediately occupied by military duty, attended the body of their beloved fellow-soldier to the grave. The funeral, thus attended by 1500 gentlemen in uniform, and an infinite number of lamenting friends, proceeded through the principal streets to St. Mary's Church, where the last sad service was performed amidst the tears of many thousands. His Yeomanry corps (the St. Sepulchre's) fired over his grave. The attendance which followed Captain Ryan's funeral was truly honourable to the loyal Yeomanry of this city; it has proved the strong feeling of gratitude which every man entertained towards a gallant gentleman, who sacrificed his own life, and saved the City of Dublin from massacre."

Captain Ryan had been an officer in the 103d regiment, commanded by the brave Sir Ralph Abercromby. On the reduction of that regiment, he settled in Dublin, and became editor of *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, of which his uncle, Captain Giffard, was proprietor. Thus situated, he became closely connected with Mr. Secretary Cooke, the other members of the Government, and Mr. Watson Taylor, &c. Being a zealous loyalist, he raised the St. Sepulchre's corps, which he commanded.

He was a volunteer (at the request of Mr. Cooke, &c.) with the stipendiary magistrates, Majors Sirr and Swan, in most of the dangerous enterprises attendant on the discharge of their duties.[1] He left a widow and three young children. A pension of £200 a-year was granted to Mrs. Ryan, a small office to the son in 1808; but the continued kindness of the Marquess Camden, and Messrs. Cooke and Watson Taylor, introduced

[1] Musgrave records several instances.

him (the son) to Mr. now Sir Robert Peel, who was generously pleased to advance his prospects, an advantage for which he now expresses his humble but most devoted and respectful gratitude to that right honourable Baronet.

The fate of a nobleman, brother of the Duke of Leinster, nephew of the Duke of Richmond, connected with several of the highest families of England, as well as the importance of the cause in which he had embarked, excited the liveliest interest. Hence it is, that Mr. Moore and several other prose writers of his class, have put forward Lord Edward's actions in the most glowing colours. Moore, by his "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," has accordingly made public private letters and official communications evidently never intended for publication. He has thereby attempted to throw a shadow on the Camden Administration, including Lords Castlereagh and Clare, Mr. Cooke, &c., and dealt condemnation on the system by which a Rebellion, of the most deeply organized and daring nature was suppressed, but not extinguished; it shot forth in 1803, and, having received all necessary culture from that time, has again raised its daring head.

Mr. Moore has not reflected that, under the miseries of civil war, events must happen that great and good men would not countenance; and that the imperative consideration of the Irish Government was the preservation of the lives and properties of the community, the integrity of the kingdom, and the honour of the British Crown; less means than those used would not have availed; as it was, Mr. Moore is authority that 20,000 Loyalists suffered and 50,000 Rebels; but, he may add to this the thousands driven to exile and plunged into ruin, families annihilated, and estates sequestrated and mortgaged. This was the effect of an insane attempt, which is palliated by him, nay, even held up with all the attraction of romance, fiction, and argument.

Situated as Ireland has been and is, with an extensive population alienated from British connection, Mr. Moore's "Life of

Lord Edward Fitzgerald," quoting Aristotle, was highly injurious; the work did not relieve the Geraldines from taint—the gossip of curiosity alone was satisfied. Turning to p. 196, vol. ii., we are told, in reference to the mutual relations between rulers and their subjects, "that, if the majority be dissatisfied, the Government will soon be subverted." The majority in Ireland will always be dissatisfied with a Protestant Monarchy; but, as the majority of British subjects will maintain it, Ireland, instead of being misled by the term majority, if kindly instructed, would have learned that her majority was a small minority of the population of the British Empire.

Mr. Moore's book appears to have been written in an *ad captandum* manner—everything off-hand—right and wrong. When he was addressed on the error of his statements, his reply was as follows:—

"Sloperton Cottage, Devizes, July 8, 1838.

"Sir—I lament that it was not my good fortune to hear of you somewhat earlier, as the part of my work where you could be of use to me has been some time finished. The assistance, however, of your recollections would have been a great satisfaction to me; and if you would still be so obliging as to put hastily on paper the particulars you remember respecting your father's share in the conflict, I might avail myself of any new circumstance you recollect, either in a note, or in some future edition of the work, should such be called for. With many thanks for the kindness of your offer, I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"Thomas Moore.

"D. F. Ryan, Esq., 15, Mornington Crescent."

Mr. Moore only availed himself of a letter, as appears by his note to page 88, vol. ii.; and did not correct his statements which were erroneous. It is not too much to say, from the above letter, that he wrote on a point without substantial information.

One further circumstance is worthy of especial notice in this transaction; like the author of Junius's Letters, an unfathomed mystery prevails, as to who it was that betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and received the reward of £1000 offered by Proclamation.

D. F. Ryan.

END OF VOL. I.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Rupert Street.

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